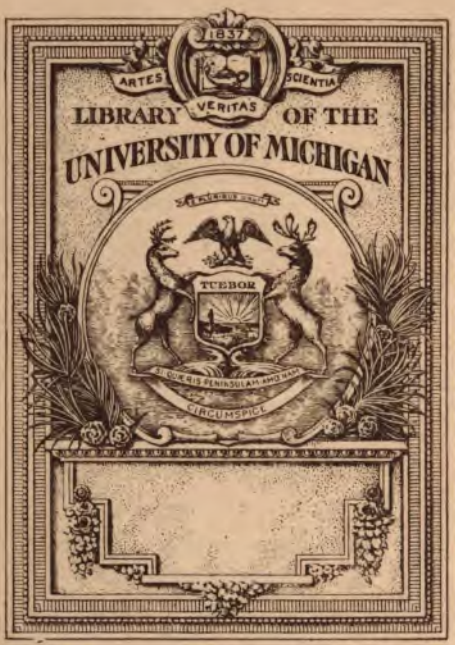

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

To fully understand present problems of the secondary school we must be able to trace their roots. Search above the surface reveals much. But to discover real meanings, at least to determine directions more readily, we need to get beneath the surface. The roots of secondary education take us back to prehistoric times; for the secondary school is as old as man; it is the oldest school in our system of education. The present book takes up secondary education as an evolution. Such a study gives an historical perspective which in no small degree guides and conditions sound discussion.

The author hopes he has succeeded in getting into the life of the secondary school and thus in adding to chapters qualities of concreteness and reality. His practical school experience and his practical interest in present-day secondary education have been his guides, and have, he hopes, given tone to his book.

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I

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN PRIMITIVE TIMES

The point of view.— If we are to have a comprehensive view of the evolution of educational forms, we must take as our starting point the ideas of tribes that flourished beyond the confines of recorded history. It is therefore the object of this first chapter to discover and examine the acquisitions of these primitive times and discover the means of transmitting and perpetuating them, i. e., the provisions for education.

It is difficult to gain even a faint conception of prehistoric life and thought. If we can forget our modern modes of thought and shut our eyes to our surroundings, we may hope in some degree to realize the position of primitive peoples. We must get rid of our complexities, of our tendency to pass over steps in processes,— to eliminate in thought parts of a series and bring remote and near together. We must as far as possible place ourselves at the point of view of these ancient tribes, bearing in mind that life, thought, and expression were very simple and moved by short stages; for industrial life, social organization, religious conceptions and feelings, and mental and physical life generally were just beginning, as far as their evolution in the human family is concerned. We must think even more simply and directly than do the plainest of modern men.

Means of studying primitive times.— There is no highway for reaching prehistoric times, but there are several pathways. Again there is no body of definite information ready made, on which we may lay our hands after indefinite journeyings. Yet the people of these primitive times have left embedded in the strata of civilization, and sometimes in the soil they occupied, various evidences that, through inference and analogy, may be

used to make out a fragmentary story of their lives. Often some piece of their handiwork comes to view to give something more tangible as to their thought and action. In addition to this, habits of thought, customs, ideals, and forms and formulæ in which their wisdom was condensed to make its transmission more secure, were handed on indefinitely. Some of them appear in faded outline, and sometimes in bold relief, in early historic peoples and serve, now as focusing points for investigation, and again as guides along the paths to prehistoric times. Slowly, with unstinted effort, students have forced their way back and have been able to picture in general outline the movements and life of the earliest peoples, to tell their story, and to make plain their ideas and modes of doing things.[1]

Organization of primitive society.— The organization of primitive society was based on the family. The family grown large — the ancient clan and tribe — simply continued the characteristic family organization, modifying it enough to adapt it to a larger and more complex unit. Each family, clan, or tribe was an end in itself, an exclusive unit, looking on all outside as strangers, and virtually as enemies. The "barbarian" of the Greeks and the "gentile" of the Hebrews are relics of this old organization and its attendant thought. The struggle of patricians and plebeians at Rome grew out of the same tribal solidarity.

The bonds of union of this primitive society were blood and religion.[2] But these two bonds were really one, as they were different sides of the same central force. The primitive family unit and the series of subordinate units bound to it, as sons gained families of their own,[3] were indissolubly bound together and were subject to the many-sided power of the father of the central family. The father was legislator, magistrate, priest,— the all-pervasive governing force of all.[4] They looked up to him when alive; they worshipped him when dead. He controlled their lives in life. In death he still pre-

[1] See Appendix I for a more specific description of sources.

[2] De Coulanges, Ancient City, 15, 16, 49–52, 174. See generally Book I and Book III: 1.

[3] Do., 149, 153; Von Ihering, Evolution of the Aryan, 32 ff. See Appendix II, 11.

[4] De Coulanges, *op. cit.*, 112 ff., 116, 149, 153, 301, 302.

sided over them; and it was one of their supreme objects to secure his favor.[5] The hearth worship, with its lares and penates, that figured so prominently in historical times, had its chief significance in this ancestor worship. The family in this broader sense also included various persons who were dependents in one degree or another. The family thus constituted what is called the clan. It had its own worship, its altar, its tomb, and its general organization, distinct from those of every other clan.[6] Altar and tomb were its centers. The clan was a compact and forceful group. The group prescribed and dominated; the individual was entirely subordinate; his life was the life of the group.[7]

Religious significance of acts.— From the very organization of early society it naturally resulted that every act and event had its religious significance, representing either the favor or the displeasure of the gods.[8]

Law an outgrowth of religion.— Even the ordinary relations of life, finally included in political and civil law, had their ground and origin in the universal blood relationships, which, we have seen, were really religious ones. The law was, in an important sense, an outgrowth of religion.[9]

[5] De Coulanges, Ancient City, 15, 16, 23, 24 ff., 44, 49.

[6] Do., *op. cit.*, 149–153.

[7] Do., 49–52, 293–98, 301–302; Appendix II: 8, 11.

[8] Thus a multitude of forms and rites and their accompanying formulæ arose to meet the varied acts of life, and to secure divine favor or ward off divine displeasure. Do., *op. cit.*, 21 ff., 23 ff., 49, 217 ff., 223 ff.; Appendix II: 8.

In the evolution of the state, religion became differentiated into different departments, just as the father's power separated into various functions of government, each presided over by a separate functionary. Religion still dominated the whole life, however, as either a serious or an oppressive influence binding closely to forms and ceremonies, or as a joyful bond of life.

In time religious influence became less dominant after the manner of primitive modes and types, and even became, at certain times and places, divorced from life to a greater or less extent. But the ideal still was that it should infuse life, giving it meaning and supplying and moulding ideals, though this infusion was entirely different in spirit, form, and attitudes from the earlier type.

To family religion in course of time was added a more external religion — worship of the powers of nature. The Roman came also to worship various deities representing abstract ideas that had special influence with men — Virtus, Fides, etc.

[9] Do., *op. cit.*, 248 ff.

What then were the acquisitions that primitive peoples, under this simple and impressive organization, accumulated and must hand on?

Acquisitions to be transmitted. 1. Social and political.— From their organization itself social and political facts, and correlatively social and political forms, suggested and impressed themselves. Thence came tribal rules and customs. Eventually laws developed. These things, with the more intimate tribal possessions,— its traditions, its rites, its relations and interrelations, its social feelings and bonds,— formed an important body of knowledge and sentiments to be transmitted.[10]

2. **Tribal history.**— Tribal and national history was forming[11] and was constantly outgrowing itself or modifying itself through race amalgamations and confederacies, and so was constantly becoming more intricate.

3. **Nature facts.**— Again primitive man was face to face with nature, which suggested operations necessary for his livelihood and guided him in them. As he cooperated with nature to supply the needs of existence, various industrial facts and processes drew his attention and were impressed on his mind.[12] As peoples and experience grew, the field of knowledge grew correspondingly. Discoveries multiplied, and crude inventions suggested themselves. To simple nature-knowledge was in time added more complex and scientific knowledge. These acquisitions were not understood, but were grasped in a merely external and practical way. They were however vital and were prized accordingly.

4. **Religious facts.**— These classes of facts and relations

[10] Hewitt, Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times, II: vii–xv, and preface generally, 1, 2, 87, 88, *et passim*. De Coulanges, *op. cit.*, 149–153, 154–158, 167–176, 248 ff., 301–2; Vedic Hymns, Mandalas I, 114; VII, 56; X, 78; Zend Avesta, Fargard 4; Seebohm, Tribal System of Wales, 64, 71, 87. The last author's English Village Community will also be interesting as indicating the strength of early customs and their relation to tribal integrity. Though referring to a much later time than the one we are considering they illustrate in a general way the points here made.

[11] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: xiv, 78–83; II: vii–xv, 306; Appendix II: 4.

[12] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: xi, 7, 64; II: vii–xv, 1, 2; Vedic Hymns, Man. I: 43, 165, 168; V: 54, 58, 61, etc.; Zend Avesta, Fargards III, VII; Appendix II: 3, 7.

had to do with the visible. But primitive man was also face to face with forces that he could not see, but could merely feel,— with mystery, with spirit life, which we characterize as fetishistic. The relations and feelings thus impressed, added to those developed by family organization, were his religion. He must meet them in appropriate ways,— by acts and rites, by formula and sacrifice, by sacred dance, by symbol and altar.[13] Primitive awe, which was perhaps the starting point on this side of life, early grew into these simple and natural forms. The dance is a constant element in primitive religion. Here was rhythm of body. On the other hand appears the rhythm of language in the hymn,[14] which was also an early development. Rhythm impressed and attracted. In fact it would be fair to say that rhythm in one form and another is one of the most fundamental modes of expression and meets with universal response.

5. **The physical.**— The physical life[15] also expressed itself in simple and natural modes, such impulsive and instinctive modes as children adopt. Here again the dance played a part, and games are as old as man.

6. **Art.**— Finally a crude art was growing, taking the forms of symbols and rude representations. The starting point here was found in religious forms, as indicated by what has just been said. Primitive man was fond of the symbolic, and it appears again and again in line, circle, spiral, and rude figure.[16] Art grew apace. It was not long, measured by developmental epochs, before art came to serve practical and esthetic ideas by highly artistic forms.[17]

7. **Tribal institutions.**— In connection with these acquisitions there grew up certain organizations and institutions which focussed and enforced the characteristic knowledge of the community. Here came in religious ceremonies and festivals, all the social forms in which the social units expressed

[13] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: x, xiv, xv, 78, 83; II: 1, 2, 87, 88; Appendix, 8, 10; Vedic Hymns, Man. I: 165, etc.; VII: 46; VIII: 7; Zend Avesta, Fargards III, VII, XIV.
[14] De Coulanges, *op. cit.*, 49; Vedic Hymns, *passim.*
[15] Do., Man., V: 54. 14; V: 58; VIII: 20.
[16] Do., Man., I: 134; V: 53, 54, 60; VI: 66.
[17] Ripley, Races of Europe, 486 ff.

themselves, and all official programs connected with social and political organization.[18]

Primitive education.— Thus primitive man slowly accumulated a body of knowledge, beliefs, and forms. They were tested and approved by practical use, or enforced by instinct and the impressiveness and mystery of his surroundings, according as the point of view was that of landholding, livelihood and community existence, or that of the impingement of the spirit world. His experiences, as he faced the conditions of survival and progress, were intense, impressed by various labors and discomforts and by the joys of conquest that were involved in pioneering the way to guiding-facts of life. What he had gained was naturally held with great tenacity and perpetuated with great care. Its transmission was education.

Transmission-forms. The myth.— The form which some of the most valued parts of this knowledge took was determined by primitive man's attitude toward the physical world. Nature appeared to him to be full of life, full of marvels. It thus inspired awe and superstition and confronted him with spirit everywhere. As he had constant dealings with these unseen and impressive forces, he must express himself about them, and he naturally spoke of them in terms of life. He readily personified nature. Very early began a kind of folk-lore, which with us goes under the name of myth or legend but was serious fact to the inventors. Primitive ideas were naturally concrete and picturesque, for they followed primitive impulses. The myth was the natural form of expression, as natural for them as the exactness of narrative is for us, and it embodied truth for them as fully as our soberer narrations do for us. There was no self-deception, and no attempt to deceive others,— at least on the part of the masses who perpetuated the myth.

Growth of myth.— We may trace the growth of myth, which in an important sense, as we have seen, was ancient his-

[18] As to the matter of primitive acquisitions generally see Hall, Oldest Civ. of Greece; Ridgeway, Early Age of Greece; Greenidge, Roman Pub. Life, (Chap. 1, sections 1, 3, 4, 5); Seebohm, The tribal Sys. of Wales, 64, 71, 87; Barton, Semitic Origins, 80 ff., 95, 98, 314–15, 317, *et al.* See also various references in Vedic Hymns and Zend Avesta. The various references will show something of the scope of acquisitions and various details. We are here chiefly concerned only with the general.

tory, from the simple nature tale, through tribal and national tales, to the individual hero-tales of the Aryans,[19] with their infinite crossings and transfusions. In the development of this form of thought and expression special conservators of national myths arose, forming groups or classes, who, as our references show, were both directly and indirectly teachers.[20] Again special laws and forms of composition were developed to insure regularity and exactness.[21]

Hero-tales—Ballads.— Some of the most interesting examples of this class of folk-lore are the rhythmic tales that describe the deeds of heroes and heroic tribes and nations.[22] They were songs and ballads, which were natural means of oral transmission, appealing to fundamental instincts. We may trace the growth of ballad literature from simple form to growing epic. In connection with the ballad we find the rhapsodist who developed this powerful instrument of information and education to a high degree of efficiency and spread ballad-lore assiduously. There were schools of rhapsodists to foster and develop this form of transmission.

Proverbs, etc.— Along with the myth-growth various bits of practical wisdom were taking the form of adage and proverb that not only secured conciseness and the verbal exactness characteristic of the oral transmission of specially important facts in primitive times, but attracted attention and aided memory.

Thus in connection with the various interests and relations of clan life and the life which grew out of it there grew up a large body of folk-lore,— hero-tales, tales of national exploits and movements, songs and hymns, proverbs and maxims, formulæ (religious and legal, or better religio-legal), and religious calendars, all of which were to become the possession of the true clansman or tribesman.[23]

[19] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: xi, xiv, 7, 76–83, 86, 519, 521 ff., 539 ff., 556 ff.; II: vii–xv, 89 ff., 306; Appendix II: 3, 4, 7.

[20] Story tellers, etc., in different nations.

[21] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: xi, xiv, xv, 81; II: vii–xv, 306; Appendix II: 3, 4, 7.

[22] Hero tales were a later development than tales of national exploits.

[23] De Coulanges, *op. cit.*, 23, 24, 29–31, 49, 52, 210, 223, 226, 248; Vedic Hymns, Man. VII: 56; V: 59, *et al.*; Müller's Preface to first ed.

Relics of this folklore, particularly the ballad and the epic. — Many fragments of this folk-lore have come down to us, sometimes with various accretions gathered through the ages, sometimes embedded in larger and more modern creations, sometimes transformed, but sometimes again with little or no change or obscuration. Vedic hymns, the Zend Avesta, the XII Tables, and the Laws of Manu give us valuable information as to the thought and ideals of remote ages. Particularly interesting here are the great national epics that have grown out of the wealth of ballad literature of still earlier ages, when the ballad was the natural mode of literary expression. Thus we have the Ramayana and Mahabharata of India, the Iliad and Odyssey of Greece, and later epics giving corresponding revelations of later peoples,— the Shah Nameh of Persia, the Kalevala of the Finns, the Niebelungenlied and Beowulf of the Teutons, and the French Song of Roland. These epics not only give us insight into the life of the time, but they suggest one of the most powerful educational forces.

Forms of education.— We now see something of the environment of the prehistoric boy. His training, whether natural or artificial, consisted in giving him power over this environment through possession of the knowledge-acquisitions of his race and through practice. What particularly interests us here, however, is the special form that this training took. Here we are met by three typical questions: — What was the end in view? How may we formulate the curriculum for the sake of comparison with those of other epochs? What was the method of training? The brief sketch which is here given, the marginal references, and the illustrations in the appendix will give some answer to these questions. It is true that the use of these modern terms, end, curriculum, method, may seem anachronous, but rudiments of the ideas which they represent are found in primitive times. More than this, it would seem that these early peoples had quite as clear an idea of these things as we have.

Ideal and aim.— The ideal in primitive education, as in all

of Vedic Hymns CXI; Zend Avesta, Fargards I, II, etc.; Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: x, xiv, xv, 7, 63, 76, 78 ff., 111, 540, 541, etc.; II: vii–xv, 1, 2, 89 ff; Appendix II: 3, 4, 8, 10, etc.

education, was a reflex of life, but without the vital force which projected life into a fuller future. The social unit was a powerful one, and impressed itself and its ideas on the individual who had little power of initiative, little power to reject, to add, to carry forward.[24] The tribe was everything, the individual nothing, absorbed by the overshadowing organization that alone had significance. "The dewdrop slips into the shining sea," or rather into the sea, for destiny was not idealized. Under these circumstances the possessions of the race were given over, immutable, to the individual. He must accept them exactly. Every syllable, every detail, was essential. Nothing that the race had wrought must slip. The ideal was then emphatically in the present. Power to idealize and generalize had not yet come. Knowledge was empirical. Men dealt with unrelated details rather than an organized body of facts. The aim was to conserve the tribe and all it stood for. The race must progress *en masse,* so to speak, with painfully slow progress. The lines were evidently clearly drawn, the limits clearly defined. Primitive man was thus the most conservative of beings. Opportunities to modify and advance ideals were few and perhaps depended chiefly on cataclysmic experiences of conquest and amalgamation. Progress under these conditions would be an accident, a chance discovery, not an organized force based on active individual effort. Society was static, not dynamic. Such was the ideal, and the educational aim accorded with it.

Curriculum.— When we come to analyze education and determine what we may well call the curriculum, we may make some such outline as the following:

1. Industrial facts: — Simple and primitive occupations. Practical facts gained through experience and treasured by older men (embodied in proverbs, etc.).

2. Social and political facts: — Facts and inheritances (customs, beliefs, etc.) as to organization of family, tribe, etc. Simple civic arrangements and regulations of community life.

3. Religious facts: — General religious facts (animistic) — Family religion (ancestor-worship). All characterstic religious ceremonies and ritual. Religion an all pervasive force, inspiring joy, sadness, awe, fear.

[24] De Coulanges, *op. cit.,* 293; Appendix II: 12.

4. Folk-lore: — Songs, ballads, tales or stories, from simple nature story, through race-story, to individual hero tales (myth or legend a modern name for these). Symbolical language sometimes used. The rhythmic element here should be noticed especially.

5. Art: — Rude representations of objects and symbols of worship. Devices on the same. Stone-circles, altars, etc., on sacred grounds carefully marked out for ceremonies.

6. Number: — Simple concrete facts (treated more fully in Chapter II).

7. Nature facts: — Much practical knowledge accumulated by the race and handed on with great accuracy and care.

8. Physical facts: — Dances; physical training incident to common life.

Method.— As to method, in an age when formal schools did not exist the means of gaining power over one's environment were the natural ones that lay open to all,— observation, imitation, play, participation (or practice). In this connection it should be noted that much of the folk-lore to which reference has been made was in rhythmic form that appeals to one of the most fundamental feelings, so fundamental that one may call it an instinct. Rhythm thus stimulates attention and aids memory. As a considerable part of the acquisitions of the community was thus included in the folk-lore, rhythmic inheritances naturally became most powerful educational material, and rhythm became a part of method. Again the tribal rites and festivals and the folk-lore recitals connected with them impressed ritual and history. Equally important as a means of instruction were the exhibitions given by the wandering bards who were characteristic of later prehistoric times and instructed while they delighted, and largely because they delighted, by rhythmic tales of national or individual prowess.

Rote learning.— But there was another element of early method that needs notice. A part of the knowledge of the community was regarded as more vital than the rest. It had cost much. It must be condensed into special forms and handed on without alteration.[25] There was a taboo against any change. This part of race inheritance sometimes called for special secrecy. It was deposited in symbolic characters, so that a spe-

[25] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: x, xi, 64, 74, 76–83, 134 ff.; II: ix, xi, 306. See the same author's Prim. Trad. Hist., I: 97, and Appendix II: 3, 4. Material for the training of adolescents was the object of great care.

cial language arose in dealing with it. Some of the most common forms it assumed were the proverb and myth, which were suited to the habits of thought of the people and, besides, were very convenient means of handing on valuable knowledge. In imparting this kind of knowledge the simplest and most natural method for an unreflecting people was rote-learning — mechanically committing to memory with no natural incentive to relieve it. It was admirably suited to forms that must remain inviolable. The descendants of rote schools and rote teachers are found to-day in the native schools of India and China.[26]

Oral and written language.— How early oral tradition was reinforced by written language as a means of transmission is not known. The date has gradually been pushed back, and now there is serious question whether a simple written language did not exist as early as the stone age.[27] However early it may have been developed, it is doubtful whether it was taught to young boys under fifteen or eighteen, because at first that which was committed to writing was probably the most sacred knowledge of the tribe.

Evolution of means of transmission.— As nations and acquisitions grew the process of transmission became more exacting and complex and more formal. We may roughly outline its growth from the most primitive form as follows: 1° A period when the child was left largely to himself and gained by the natural means first noted what the community had to offer. 2° A period when parents exercised more care and surveillance, showing and guiding and more consciously taking children into their life. An interesting phase of this is seen in the matriarchal Dravidian village community. Hewitt tells of the children taught by the elders (uncles) and matrons (aunts) of the tribe [28] the rules resulting from a long series of experi-

[26] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: 63.— See also Appendix II: 13. Aside from rote teaching that perhaps began with mere boys at this time, as it certainly did later, there was no formal school. Young children could gain all they were expected to learn by the most natural and informal means. Formal educational institutions for children arose very late.

[27] Ripley, *op. cit.*, 486.

[28] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: xi, 157; II: 1, 2; Appendix, 7. In each community, because of exogamous marriage customs, all men and women of the tribe were brothers and sisters.

ments or experiences forming their science of agriculture. To prevent error in transmission the rules were put in attractive form and "carefully repeated by each generation after the teachers till indelibly impressed."[29] 3° A period when the community made its elders more or less definitely into supervisors or conservators of community interests as related to the perpetuation of community ideals. Very early, "in Kushika times, we find developed the system of education of which the practical physical education of Persia and Sparta were relics.[30] Here was the origin of common meals. Here began the custom of regarding the child as belonging to the state, and of bringing the new born child to the elders to determine whether he was to be reared or not."[31] 4° A period of guilds, when society was more fully organized industrially, so that a boy could serve apprenticeship in a trade-guild.[32] This was class education that, under favorable conditions, developed into caste education, as under the Aryans in India. Guild-education began very early. 5° A period where society had grown complex enough to set aside special teachers, or groups of teachers, priests or laymen, to take charge of the education of children.[33]

Secondary training distinctive.— But now comes the question, was there any distinction as to age, or was the older boy's education simply a continuation of the training of the child in the various lines noted? Here we come upon some of the most interesting points connected with prehistoric education. All the inheritances and acquisitions to which reference has been made were not alike. Some were more sacred and secret than

[29] The first education seems to have been practical, and naturally so. Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: 63; Appendix, 3; Hewitt, Primitive Traditional History, I: 65–66.

[30] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: 63; Appendix, II: 5.

[31] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: 297, 298, 410. Here again was the origin of the marriage customs and dual government of Sparta, showing the close connection of influential elements of Spartan population with eastern tribes.

[32] Do. I: 111; Appendix, II: 5, 6.

[33] Hewitt, *op. cit.*, I: xiv, 76. Speaking of primitive tribes he tells of village priest-teachers and women-prophetesses who became the national Asipu, the diviners, who not only were repositories of the past, but were also augurs and foretellers who interpreted the flight of birds and the movements of their entrails. They were the ancestors of the augurs of Rome and other priestly classes.

others. There was a kind of esoteric element in primitive knowledge accumulations. Some facts must be guarded more carefully, lest tribal well-being be broken. Some things must be absolutely safeguarded from enemies, i. e., all outside the clan or tribe circle, lest one tribe get some sinister advantage over another. These and other acquisitions must not be risked with children. They required an age which could be not only tenacious, but secretive. This is the adolescent age.

Evidence of distinctive training for the adolescent.— There is thus strong presumption that there was a distinction in education and that this distinction showed itself, not by differences in degree and amount simply, but by differences in kind, both in matter and method. There is not only presumption; there is evidence. 1° There are certain customs found in historic times, undoubtedly relics of earlier centuries or ages, that point to such a distinction as has been indicated. 2° There are some hints in the early literature of the Aryans. 3° There is still stronger evidence found in primitive tribes of to-day who are still untouched by modern civilization and well represent, in their customs, modes of thought, and attitudes, the childhood of races. The tribes thus present characteristics that may well have ruled in prehistoric days. Putting all the evidence together we are justified in saying that the training of the adolescent differed impressively from that of the child. First, there was a more conscious aim and it was better defined. Second, the community organized itself for a more definite training, prescribed certain forms, and, through characteristic ceremonies, gave a peculiar force to the adolescent's education that was lacking in that of the child.[34] Here came in "initiation" ceremonies, (naturally religious), and severe physical tests that often extended to body markings.[35] We may summarize this secondary training therefore briefly as follows:[36]

[34] De Coulanges, *op. cit.*, 46, 67, 68, 157, 169, 170; Zend Avesta, Fargard IX (Introd), Fargard XVIII, 1: 9; Appendix, II: 9, 14.

[35] These latter should probably be regarded as originally totemistic rather than as physical tests. This makes them at once more primitive and significant. They will be considered more fully in the next chapter.

[36] Fuller details are reserved for discussions that belong more properly in other chapters. (See II, III, IV.)

Summary of the training of adolescents.— The training of the adolescent naturally proceeded in part along the same lines as that of the child. He was getting more extended and fuller knowledge of the life of the tribe in its various directions. He was acquiring more power over his environment and the operations of life. But there was something beyond this. The choicest or most characteristic parts of the acquisitions of the race, the more secret or mysterious bits of knowledge, the more sacred traditions and legends, the more strenuous physical facts, were reserved for the adolescent and were applied to the young men by the elders of the tribe amid impressive ceremonies.

Secondary school as old as man.— There was, therefore, a kind of secondary education laid out in rather definite fashion. Ends were conscious and means well organized. The secondary school is therefore, in a sense, as old as man. The high school is the primitive school modernized. This will appear more fully as we proceed.

APPENDIX I

1. **The Aryans.**— Not many decades ago the most interesting and important part of the investigation of primitive civilization was to seek out in the highlands of Central Asia the cradle of the race that made Southern Europe, study civilization at this center, trace the two lines of diffusion to the East and West, and, again study the two branches of the western migration on European soil. Then the Aryans played a leading rôle in the development of early civilization. To-day their movements form a secondary episode in the early, though not in the earliest, ethnology of Europe.

2. **Notes on sources.**— The following notes on some of the sources as they appear to the author may be of some interest:

(a) Hewitt, in his Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times, gives us especially valuable and suggestive data for our purpose. He shows us the primitive Dravidians with their primitive organization, the matriarchal village community, and the Dravidians, or Dravidian amalgamations, moving westward and spreading their peculiar land customs and their civic and religious forms that made the foundation of the later Greek and Roman states, and other states as well. It is becoming evident that the basal element of European civilization of the South and West was not the Aryans, but other peoples pressing on from the East. To these peoples, it would seem, were due the ele*ment of law, the* conditions that made for settled government and

industrial development, and the peculiar formalism found in the Roman religion. So interesting and full of detail is Hewitt's work that one is tempted to give more data than are essential for our purpose.

(b) Ripley, in his Races of Europe, has effectively sifted and organized the results of many investigators and has given us a detailed and careful anthropological description of the three fundamental races of Europe. His suggestions as to origins are fairly consistent with those of Hewitt. While his primary purpose is anthropological, he gives us some useful details as to modes of life and acquisitions, particularly in his later chapters.

(c) De Coulanges, in his Ancient City, has given us a most brilliant piece of work and specially valuable for getting at the points of view and organization of early society. His aim is rather psychological and sociological than strictly ethnological. His picture of the organization and culture of the prehistoric community is peculiarly vivid. While his study applies particularly to the fundamental features in the civilization of the classical states, which he probably conceived to be Aryan, it gives much of value in the study of any primitive civilization, and has been used as generally applicable in a broad sense.

(d) Other sources more or less valuable are noted on page 6. Still others are reserved for two special chapters which follow.

APPENDIX II

3. **Primitive knowledge and the method of transmitting it. Old folk-lore and its modern counterparts.**— "The first founders of national education were an agricultural race, and the lessons they had to teach their young pupils were not the rules of the art of war, or the mysteries of religion, but those which embodied the results attained by the long series of experiments which had formed a national science of agriculture. To enable these lessons to be transmitted from generation to generation in a form which secured them from distortion they were embodied in mythic tales which were carefully repeated by each generation of scholars after their teacher till they became indelibly impressed on their memory. Every one who has listened to Hindu scholars repeating their lessons after their master will understand how this was done, and it is to this systematic training of the memory that we owe innumerable works which have descended to us in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literature."— Hewitt, I: 63.

4. "But when national education was looked upon, as it was amongst the Kushites, as one of the most important tasks of internal policy, and it was found necessary to improve and disseminate more widely than had hitherto been done the knowledge of the history of the country and of the results acquired by scientific research, these were all embodied in myths framed on the model of the seasonal myths which formed the folk-tales of the villagers, these being almost all based *on the recurrence* of the seasons, the most important subject c

knowledge to a people whose living was gained by the culture of plants, which could only be properly carried on when the land was prepared, the seed sown, the fields weeded, and the crops reaped and stored in the proper seasons. It is the story of the seasons which is told in the numerous stories of the three brothers, the youngest of whom, the reaper of the harvest, is alone successful in his quest; and it is they which appear in the Cinderella myth and its variants. . . . It is this mythical method of recording the movements of time which appears also in the story of the Briar Rose or Sleeping Beauty. It is tales like these which have always been from time immemorial the favorite modes of teaching among all the races who have successively ruled India." —Hewitt, I: 78–79.

"It is Sanskrit fairy tales which form the substratum of our European stories; and no one who has heard, as I have done, the fairy stories of my youth told by a wild Gond in the forests of Sehawa, at the sources of the Mahunuddy in Chuttisgurh, can ever doubt that these stories were originally conceived by the myth-makers of the most primitive tribes in the earliest dawn of civilization. The stories my Gond guide told me could never have reached his tribe from Northern infiltration in historic times, for I was probably the second, if not the first, European he or his people had ever seen; for, as far as I could make out, I was the second European who was ever known to have visited this wild and remote tract. . . . It was apparently these people who first formed the skeleton foundations on which later stories were founded, and, being a most practical people, they made them in such a way as to convey valuable instruction in an interesting and easily retained form. Having, like all nations with strong Malay affinities, such as the Chinese, Burmese, and Bengalis, vivid dramatic instincts, and being also, like the Bengalis, great makers of pithy proverbs, they easily and naturally turned these into stories which seemed to be tales told of individuals, and in dramatizing these, either in the story or in mimic action, they made the key-notes of the proverbs the names of the actors in the plot. When these stories were transferred from the village school and the village meetings in the Akra or dancing-place to the guardianship of the royal advisers and were made the groundwork of national history they were protected from alteration by the same taboo which forbade all tampering with the national ritual."—Hewitt, I: 80–81.

5. **Method of education with comparisons.**—"In order to insure the permanence of their national traditions the Kushikas insisted most strongly on the systematic instruction and education of the young, and they used as their model the Dravidian arrangements for the training of the village children of the matriarchal village. By this systematic method of education the lives of all the younger members of the community were passed in a course of discipline of which the Spartan education, descended from the tribal ancestors of the Dorians, is the best specimen. I have shown . . . how closely the

Dorian customs are allied to those of the Indian Nagas, and the remembrance of these national training-schools still survives in the schools of the Brahmans among the Hindus, in the Greek and Roman education, and in that of the ancient Persians or Parthians. They, like their brethren, the Parthian cavalry of India, were taught to ride, to shoot the bow, and to speak the truth."—Hewitt, I:63. (See also pp. 297, 298.)

6. "It was they (the Aryans) who changed the system of trade-guilds and craft-schools, formed under the Kushite government for preserving and adding to the knowledge necessary for the continuance and advancement of the crafts of the country, into family circles in which every one remained through life a member of the caste in which he was born, instead of being, as people were in Kushite times, free to enter any other caste to which their inclinations led them, if they could, as in the ancient village, secure the consent of the members of the guild to their admittance. Thus this Aryan family system had its roots in the old customs of the country."—Hewitt, I:111.

7. **Early folk-lore agricultural.**—"In every village the rising generation was trained by their mothers and maternal uncles, and it was from the teaching instincts thus developed that the folk-tale and the national proverbs which are as ubiquitous as the folk-tale, originated. An analysis of the earliest of these stories, which do not profess to be historical, will show that almost all of them are connected with the explanation of natural phenomena, and that they generally are the product of the brains of agricultural or hunting races who had keen mercantile instincts. . . . Some are too manifestly nature-myths, telling of the course of the year, a subject of vital importance to the farming tribes." (The tale of Demeter and Persephone and that of the Sleeping Beauty are given as Northern descendants of these myths.) —Hewitt I:xi.

8. **Family and clan. Their bonds of union.**—"We find in each house an altar, and around this altar the family assembled. The family meets every morning to address its first prayers to the sacred fire, and in the evening to invoke it for a last time. In the course of the day the members are once more assembled near the fire for the meal, of which they partake piously after prayer and libation. In all these religious acts, hymns which their fathers have handed down are sung in common by the family."

"Outside the house, near at hand, in a neighboring field, there is a tomb, the second home of this family. There several generations of ancestors repose together; death has not separated them. They remain grouped in this second existence and continue to form an indissoluble family."

"The members of the ancient family were united by something more powerful than birth, affection, or physical strength; this was the religion of the sacred fire and of dead ancestors. This caused the family to form a single body both in this life and in the next. The ancient

family was a religious rather than a natural association. Religion, it is true, did not create the family, but certainly it gave the family its rules."— De Coulanges, 49–52.

9. **Initiation.**—"A sort of initiation was also required for the son, as we have seen it was for the daughter. This took place a short time after birth, the ninth day at Rome, the tenth in Greece, the tenth or twelfth in India. On that day the father assembled the family, assembled witnesses, and offered a sacrifice to his fire. The child was presented to the domestic gods; a female carried him in her arms and ran, carrying him, several times around the sacred fire (to purify and to initiate into the domestic worship). From this moment the infant was admitted into this sort of sacred society or small church that was called the family. He possessed its religion, he practiced its rites, he was qualified to repeat its prayers; he honored its ancestors, and at a later period he would himself become an honored ancestor."— De Coulanges, 67, 68.

10. **Forms of religion and their rise.**—"When we sought the most ancient beliefs of these men, we found a religion which had their dead ancestors for its object and for its principal symbol the sacred fire. . . . But this race has also had in all its branches another religion, the one whose principal figures were Zeus, Here, Athene, Juno,—that of the Hellenic Olympus and the Roman Capitol."

"Of these two religions the first found its gods in the human soul, the second took them from physical nature. As the sentiment of living power and of conscience, which he felt in himself, inspired man with the first idea of the divine, so the view of this immensity which surrounded and overwhelmed him traced out for his religious sentiment another course."

"Man, in the earlier ages, was continually in the presence of nature. The habits of civilized life did not yet draw a line between him and it. . . . His life was in the hands of nature. . . . He experienced perpetually a mingled feeling of veneration, love, and terror for this power of nature. . . . On first looking on the external world man pictured it to himself as a sort of confused republic where rival forces made war upon each other. As he judged external objects from himself, and felt in himself a free person, he saw also in every part of creation, in the soil, in the tree, in the cloud, in the water of the river, in the sun, so many persons like himself. He endued them with thought, volition, and choice of acts. As he thought them powerful and was subject to their empire he avowed his dependence; he invoked them and adored them; he made gods of them."

"Thus in this race the religious idea presented itself under two different forms. On the one hand man attached the divine attribute to the invisible principle, to the intelligence, to what he perceived of the soul, to what of the sacred he felt in himself. On the other hand he applied his ideas of the divine to the external object which

he saw, which he loved or feared; to physical agents which were the masters of his happiness and of his life."

"These two orders of belief laid the foundation of two religions that lasted as long as Greek and Roman society. They did not make war upon each other; they even lived on very good terms, and shared the empire over man; but they never became confounded."— De Coulanges, 159–161.

11. **Solidarity of family.**—"Certainly we could imagine nothing more solidly constituted than this family of the ancient ages which combined within itself its gods, its worship, its priest, and its magistrate" (the father combined the functions of the last two functionaries). "There could be nothing stronger than this city which also had in itself its religion, its protecting gods, and its independent priesthood, which governed the soul as well as the body of man, and which, infinitely more powerful than the states of our day, united in itself the double authority that we now see shared between the state and the church. If any society was ever established to last, it was certainly that."— De Coulanges, 299.

A divergent view.— Von Ihering ("Evolution of the Aryan," page 32 ff.) rejects the thought of the compact continuance of the family and of filial affection as applied to the Aryan. He holds that the elder son soon deposed the father and that offerings to the dead were made through fear. At the same time he believes that the Romans were an exception and that among them the father retained his place. In fact the Romans illustrate in great detail the matters summarized above.— De Coulanges holds them as characteristic of the Aryans generally.

12. **Individual and community.**—"There was nothing independent in man; his body belonged to the state; . . . his fortune was at the disposal of the state; private life did not escape the omnipotence of the state."— De Coulanges, 293.

13. **Reference to teaching in Zend Avesta.**— Special references to teacher, learning, method. "If men of the same faith, either friends or brothers, come to an agreement together that one may obtain from another either goods, or a wife, or knowledge . . . let him who wants to have knowledge be taught the holy word. He shall learn on during the first part of the day and the last, during the first part of the night and the last, that his mind may be increased in knowledge and wax strong in holiness; so shall he sit up giving thanks and praying to the gods, that he may be increased in knowledge . . . and thus shall he continue until he can say all the words which former Æthrapaitis have said." Fargard IV, ii e. (The customary method of early times seems to be referred to. There is also indication of contract in teaching.)

14. **Ceremonies peculiar to adolescence.**— There are also some references, or rather some notes, as to a special ceremony for the

adolescent. "The nine nights" Barashnum "is the great purification, the most efficacious of all; its performance was prescribed, once at least at the time of the Nu Zudi (at the age of fifteen when the young Parsi becomes a member of the community), in order to wash away the natural uncleanness."—Fargard IX, introductory note.

The Kosti, "worn by every Parsi man or woman from their fifteenth year of age, . . . is the badge of the faithful, the girdle by which he is united both with Ormazd and with his fellow believers. . . . He who wears it becomes a participator in the merit of all the good deeds performed all over the Zarathusian world." Müller proceeds to describe the curious nature of the Kosti. Note to Fargard XVIII, I:9.

II

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN PRIMITIVE TRIBES TO-DAY

From this description of primitive education that is immeasurbaly remote from us in time, as well as in its evolutionary position, we come to a consideration of a primitive education which touches us in time, but is as remote as the other in its evolutionary character.

Sources of information.— Various primitive tribes to-day either have been untouched by modern civilization, or have been so little affected that their primitive customs can be easily discovered. They thus give us much insight into prehistoric life, as they represent a similar stage of development. This chapter will therefore reinforce important parts of the first chapter and will add new elements. If it repeats somewhat, it does so from new view-points,— first from view-point of actual observers, second from that of new tribes.

These tribes which are to be considered represent various grades of civilization, all of which may be called primitive, but we need not differentiate, except in certain particulars that will be evident in the course of discussion. As this is not a study in anthropology or ethnology we are concerned only with such details as bear particularly on the matter of training that the community supplied for its children.

Acquisitions and inheritances.— The most primitive peoples with which we are concerned here have advanced slightly beyond the tribal stage to a loose organization, seen in the meetings of elders from different tribes to consider general interests.[1] Other tribes have developed ideas of more definite organization,— ideas of nationality, generally of monarchical type. In industrial lines we find the simplest pursuits, whether

[1] Appendix, 2, 5; Spencer and Gillen, Native tribes of Central Australia, 272. See also the same author's Northern Tribes, 24, 27, 70.

in the domain of agriculture or that of handicrafts.[2] In rudimentary science we find, first, simple number ideas [3] that may be best understood by reference to two or three typical number systems. The most rudimentary type seems to be that in which there are no special names for numbers, simply group names, so that reckoning is by "hand"; (a hand = 5; 2 hands = 10); by "man" (2 hands + 2 feet = 20), etc.[4] The next type seems to be that in which they have special names for the first three numbers and by repetition and combination reach five or six and then use the devices given above with the aid of the special expressions. A third type would include more special names or a higher counting capacity (say, 200, 300, etc.), or both. The counting power is sometimes steadied and enforced by means of tallies (notches in sticks, knobs, sticks in sand, etc.). Everything therefore is concrete, as might be expected. The abstract is beyond the menal grasp of primitive man.

Knowledge of nature and the healing art.— Under the head of rudimentary science should also be included their observations of nature that were many and accurate,[5] and the beginnings of the medical art,[6] with its magic and superstition.

Religion.— In religion we find animism and fetishism widespread.[7] One of the most fundamental and striking forces in religion is the totem,[8] from which a whole system of totemic religion has grown. Naturally, with their crude ideas, superstition and magic arts also appear as a part of their religion. But we also find definite ideas of gods apart from the totemic system, at least in certain places, and a belief in a future existence. In connection with all this they have a wealth of

[2] See Ratzel, History of Mankind; Featherman, Social History of the Races of Mankind; Letourneau, L'Evolution de L'Education.

[3] Appendix 10. Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 134.

[4] All this indicates that number development was originally digital.

[5] See Hewitt, *op. cit.*, Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 24–26, and books on primitive tribes generally.

[6] Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 155, 234.

[7] Appendix 1; Ratzel, *op. cit.*, II: 353, 355–357, 481; Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 161–2; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* 123, 124, 138, 310, 311; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 141, 142.

[8] See Appendix I.

religious legends (history to them), and religious ceremonies and ritual.[9]

Folk-lore.— Folk-lore there is in abundance.[10] One department of it has just been referred to. We also find proverbs, aphorisms, riddles, fables, general legends, astronomical fables and myths, myths concerning gods, beast-legends, war-songs, hero-tales, and tales that point to migrations and amalgamations.[11] In this connection reference should be made also to pantomimes and burlesques,[12] of which primitive peoples seem fond. The wandering minstrel reinforces local story-tellers[13] in the transmission of the mass of stories that this list suggests. But he is not always the honored guest we find him among the Greeks. Featherman, in his account of African races, tells us of "wandering musicians who dress up in fantastic style, put on all the emblematic mummeries of magic art, and recite in recitative strain all the incidents of their travels, but are looked upon with despite as selling charms for hire."[14] However, we may not have here a real "minstrel" corresponding in function to the rhapsodist; but the latter is found among primitive peoples.

Art.— Rudimentary art is very conspicuous among these tribes. Their interest in graphic expression is instinctive.[15] The necessity of expressing themselves finds this one of the simplest and most natural means, as it gives them some of the simplest and most suggestive symbols. They thus readily practice drawing and carving, but in a limited field, for they have a predilection for figures of animals and men; a landscape passes their comprehension. In some cases they have made great progress in design and show real artistic sense.

[9] Appendix 2, 3, 5, 7; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 145, 229–30, 323–24, and generally Chapters VII–VIII.

[10] Appendix 10; Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 355–56; Ratzel, *op. cit.*, II: 276–279, 327, 480; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 145, 229–30, 310, 311, *et passim;* Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 119, 135, 153, 230.

[11] Ratzel, *op. cit.*, II: 250, 260; Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 355.

[12] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 228–30, 334 ff., 336, 352–3, *et al.;* Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 355–56; Ratzel, *op. cit.*, II: 480; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 119, 135, 217, 230; Appendix 10.

[13] Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 355–56; Ratzel, *op. cit.*, II: 480; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 119, 135, 217, 230; Appendix 10.

[14] Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 23.

[15] Appendix, 1, 2, 10; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 47, 58, 69, 122–23.

Physical facts.— The physical man is not neglected. Besides the spontaneous exercise which his life suggests and enforces, primitive man has universally practiced himself in the dance.[16] Rhythm, as indicated before, is an instinct. Gesture wonderfully attracts and meets with ready response. The dances thus minister to religious ceremony, which is highly developed in these tribes, to primitive impulse for the motions involved, and perhaps to the social instinct. At least they are a most characteristic part of life, and every true tribesman must train himself in them. Then the tribe prescribes special physical training for its new members, and lays particular emphasis upon physical tests involving severe physical strain,[17] to which the boy must be subjected before becoming a member of the tribe. Primitive peoples spontaneously provide for certain physical qualities to be developed in new tribesmen.

It is not necessary for us, in the present connection, to elaborate these topics in great detail. It is sufficient to know that the most primitive peoples have accumulated a variety of experiences that may be grouped into several classes.[18]

Education of the child and of the adolescent.— Some of the simpler accumulations are naturally and inevitably appropriated by children. The most vital of them are studiously reserved for adolescents,[19] and their mastery is the culmination of youthful achievement, or the initial step in full manhood. While we are not concerned directly with elementary education, a brief reference to it will give a better basis for the study of adolescent education and will at the same time help us to gain a clearer conception of it. In order to fully appreciate this earlier stage of education we must keep carefully in mind what was said in Chapter I as to the point of view of primitive peoples, their ideals, and their aims.[20]

[16] Appendix, 1, 7, 10; Ratzel, *op. cit.*, II: 480; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 120, 134, 217. See also Featherman, *op. cit.*, and Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 381.

[17] Appendix, 2; Ratzel, *op. cit.*, II: 394–5; Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 623; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 271–2, 347, 380, 450 ff.; also Chapters VII, VIII; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 153–4.

[18] See page 30 f.

[19] Appendix, 2; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 145, 229–30, 309; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 153–4.

[20] Chapter I, pp. 8, 9.

The aim in elementary education.— The aim in primitive elementary education is a general one. Aims do not become fully definite and purposeful till the secondary period. Means are the simplest and most natural. There is no definite organization. The whole process may be said to be largely spontaneous. Observation, imitation, play, participation, showing, rote-learning [21] comprise the method, which is ready-made, not studied; a gift of nature, not planned. In this way are taught the simplest facts and processes needed for life in the tribe,— the elementary and more necessary portions of the race acquisitions that have been outlined.[22]

Different types of elementary education.— As was suggested in Chapter I the simplest form of education seems to be that which is purely spontaneous, through imitation and play. The initiative comes from the children,[23] as they are left largely to themselves. The next stage is very similar, but has the additional element of participation in the work of parents. A third stage is reached when the parents make definite efforts and plans (family) to teach their children the necessary operations of life.[24] The fourth stage is that in which special teachers for training the young,[25] — clan members, elders, priests,— are provided. Education seems to move from the type in which the elders are the repositories of all the learning of the race to that in which priests are supreme.

Discipline.— It is interesting to note also that in primitive life there is no conception of discipline in the sense of supervision and government, including corporal punishment. Corporal punishment is not a relic of barbarism, but a product of civilization. In the most primitive races the children are practically abandoned to govern themselves, and for a consider-

[21] Appendix, 10; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 134, 151.

[22] Method and scope of training are indicated in Letourneau's accounts of Australians, New Caledonians, Hottentots, East and West Africans, Polynesians, Tartars, Malays; in Ratzel's and Featherman's descriptions of African and Eskimo life; and in Spencer and Gillen's Studies of Central Australian Tribes. Appendix 10.

[23] Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 514–15, 599; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 133–134, 153; Appendix 10.

[24] Appendix 10; Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 427.

[25] Appendix 10.

able distance up in the evolution of education discipline is mild and lax, "douceur," as Letourneau puts it. When, however, training becomes a more conscious process, careful surveillance becomes prominent, and punishment, admonition, and exhortation suggest themselves as the readiest means of moral training.

Secondary education.— Primary education is just what we might expect, natural, informal. We need not dwell further on it here. Secondary education, while sharing some of its characteristics, is radically different from it. Aims and ideals have become fully conscious and definite. The knowledge to be imparted is carefully defined. Method is the object of great care. It has been carefully planned and is very precise. To get at its real meaning it is more essential here than in discussing elementary education to recall and impress primitive ideals and aims dwelt upon in Chapter I.[26] Briefly the plan is this: —

1. The boy is to be capable of representing and supporting clan or tribe mentally and physically. He must master the facts, ceremonies, and lore that are most essential in maintaining the forms of life and thought characteristic of his social and political environment.[27]

2. Special localities are chosen for the most impressive parts of the educational process.[28]

3. The boys are separated from the women,[29] who have no part in the most characteristic details of the proceedings, and they are taken in charge by picked men, while the whole proceeding is directed by "headman" and elders. It is interesting to find that there is a union of tribes in this course of education and that the occasion is taken advantage of for intertribal meetings of elders.[30] This, of itself, adds force and impressiveness to the ceremonies and to the training that the boys now receive. Amid silence (on the part of the novices),

[26] Chapter I, pp. 8, 9.
[27] Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 413, 514–15, 580, 623; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 139–40, 213–18 ff., 271–2, 310–11; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 134; Ratzel, *op. cit.*, II: 370. See Appendix 2, 3, 7.
[28] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 139–40. See Appendix 2.
[29] Appendix 2.
[30] Appendix 2; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 272.

awe and mystery, amid apparent manifestations of the spirit forces, with occasional weird sounds from the bull-roarers in which dwell ancestral spirits,[31] the most vital and carefully guarded items of the tribe's acquisitions and the most sacred part of tribal history are impressed on the boys, and they receive on their bodies the tribal symbols and assume the characteristic articles of man's dress.[32] After the special ceremonies it is not uncommon for the boys to pass a time in the "bush" supporting themselves, and sometimes, at least, receiving further instruction from the "elders."[33] During the initiation also the boys may be taught a new name and a mystic language.[34] We must not suppose the exercises are necessarily brief; they are never such. They are sometimes distributed over years. A candidate for tribehood, too, may be, and frequently, if not always, is required to be present at more than one such occasion as has just been referred to, before becoming a fully initiated "man."[35] He probably is not always required to go through the ordeal a second time, though this fact comes out definitely in one case which is recorded.

That which forms what we may call the subject matter of this training will be found to connect itself particularly but not exclusively with religion, physical power, and folk-lore. That part of the initiatory proceedings or teaching which is connected with the physical boy is very conspicuous, but not on that account as important as some other elements of the training.

Physical marks and tests.— This latter topic needs a few additional words to emphasize what, it is fair to assume, is the fundamental conception connected with it. Under the head

[31] Appendix 1, 2; Spencer and Gillen, op. cit., 139 ff., 149.
[32] Appendix 2; Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 9, 566–67.
[33] Appendix 2, 4, 5; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 347.
[34] Appendix 4, 5, 6; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 139, 140.
When tribe was enemy of tribe and the possession of secrets by another tribe might have tragic consequences, secrecy was a necessary tribal policy. Hence it is not strange that women did not participate in the mature business of the tribe, aside from any influence coming from early conceptions of woman's position. In war they would be captives and might jeopardize tribal interests by divulging tribal secrets either voluntarily or under stress. The mystic language may have special significance here, as Mathews suggests.
[35] Appendix 3.

of physical we may place three classes of experiences,[36] 1°, body-markings, 2°, mutilations, 3°, severe physical strain or suffering. We may assume that there are two ends in view. Thus, 1° and 2° probably have for their object the assimilation of the individual to the totem of the tribe; certain changes of the body (especially of the mouth and head) are necessary to give him some resemblance to the animal that represents the totem. The tattooings of various kinds and degrees, gashings, incisions, and cicatrices, are perhaps totemic signs and symbols; at least they are tribal. It has perhaps been common to regard the second class of experience (mutilations) as mere physical tests, to prove the boy before admitting him to the tribe, but it is more significant, and more in accord with what we know of race development, to regard them as totemic in origin. The third class of physical experiences may probably be regarded as purely physical tests or examinations. It is possible that they came in later after the significance of the second class had been lost.[37]

Results of this training.— From what has been said it is evident that the result of such training gives a high degree of efficiency to the powers of observation and to memory, especially the latter. Much of the ceremony of initiation is calculated to stimulate attention incisively even painfully and this is one of the prime conditions for strengthening the memory, or better, the memories. There is practically no training of the intellectual powers further than has been noted, but this secondary education has a distinct effect on moral development, in fact is intended to have, giving courage, self-control, respect for authority, and other qualities, as Spencer and Gillen show from a study of primitive tribes in Australia.[38]

If it be thought that too much definiteness and purposefulness has been assumed in the matter of secondary education among primitive tribes,— that much has been " read into " their plans, that a scheme of education has been " made up," a brief

[36] Appendix 2, 10; Featherman, *op. cit.*, I: 224, 407, 566–67, 580, 623; Ratzel, *op. cit.*, II: 106, 111, 394–5, 466, 470; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 272; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 153–4. See also references on page 13, note 35.

[37] Plato, Republic, 413–14.

[38] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, 272; Appendix 10; Letourneau, *op. cit.*, 199, 217, 221.

study will show that the evidence justifies even stronger statements than have been made. Mathews' account of initiation ceremonies among Australian savages may be taken as a basis.[39] It shows that there is a very definite course of instruction. Spencer and Gillen's studies show that secondary training initiates the boy into the early (mythological) history of his race, into totemic secrets, and into complicated ceremonies and dances that are, according to their crude notion, vitally related to the prosperity and life of the tribe. These accounts are reinforced by the mass of facts as to primitive life and education gathered by Ratzel and Featherman in their accounts of African, Australian, and Eskimo life, and by Letourneau in his *L'Evolution de L'Education*.[40]

Primitive secondary education compared with modern secondary education.— Thus the impression grows that these primitive folk have aims and ideals in "secondary" education more clearly defined than ours (and naturally so in the absence of such complexity as faces us), that the course of training is sharply defined and fixed and is the object of unwavering faith, and that their method is clearly-cut, uniform, and well adapted to their purpose. Mr. Tozzer of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, was initiated into the Navajo Indian tribe. His account of the initiation ceremonies of the Yei-bi-tsai, which he kindly gave in a personal interview,[41] illustrates and enforces all these points and affords a fine example of the definiteness of primitive adolescent training. The high school, as has been said in Chapter I, is simply the primitive secondary school modernized. The change has come particularly in subject matter and method. The primitive aim and our aim, stated in general terms, would be almost identical, as must be evident from what has been said in this chapter. Their aim, however, has a more definite meaning for them. Their education is systematized, in a way, as well as ours, and has all, or practically all, the elements that are found in our high schools. The difference between our secondary training and theirs does

[39] Appendix 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
[40] Appendix 10, which gives many references for different items of education.
[41] Appendix 7.

not lie so much in the fact that any of these elements of school-life are absent in primitive education, but in the fact that they have grown in scope and complexity since then, that ideals, subject matter, and method have adapted themselves to changing conditions, though somewhat tardily, because of the conservative nature of education.

A variety of illustrative material as to primitive education of to-day will be found in the appendix and marginal references. If all the evidence is carefully studied, it will be found to support the conclusions as to prehistoric education given in Chapter I. Support will grow stronger as we advance.

Summary of primitive secondary education.— The main points of this chapter may now be summarized in the following outline; but it should be noted that the general classes of subject matter referred to are found in both the primary and the secondary period. The most characteristic parts are reserved for the adolescent boys.

Education in the secondary period: —

Aim.— Insight into the choicest knowledge of the tribe. Strong impressions of most important tribal characteristics and customs. Induction into full citizenship. *Education into the life of the tribe.*

Analysis of curriculum: — More serious and secret elements of the following:

Industrial facts: — Elements of occupations. (This suggests manual training).

Social and political facts: — Knowledge of and full participation in clan and tribal life (organization, councils, etc.). (The foundation of civics.)

Religious facts: — Primitive ritual. Particularly totemic ceremonies and signs; facts as to Churinga (bull-roarers).[42] All characteristic ceremonies. Magic. (The beginnings of religious instruction are seen here,— now made a regular and very important part of the curriculum in several continental systems.)

Folk-lore: — Tales of ancestors and histories of totems. Songs. Practical knowledge gained through experience of tribe, treasured by old men and handed on. Sometimes a special totem name with all its significance, was given to the individual; sometimes a new language was taught. (The basis of language and literature.) Note also tabulation on *pp.* 6 ff., 23, 35.

[42] *See Appendix 1, 2, 7.*

Nature facts: — Close observation of nature enforced and vivified through intense relations of men to natural phenomena and to nature's supplies. Knowledge treasured and transmitted in easy formulæ. (The rudiments of the natural sciences.)

Number: — Simple concrete facts. Few particular ideas. Limited series, perhaps up to 5, and then by 5's and 10's. (The rudiments of mathematics and exact science.)

Art: — General symbolism of tribe. Participation in making sacred objects (see sand-paintings of the Navajos). Body-paintings. Drawing. Carving of useful and ornamental articles. (Beginnings of drawing and art, with further suggestions as to manual training.)

Physical training: — Physical tests trying nerve and muscle. Body-markings,— tattooing, incisions, cicatrizing, teeth-breaking, etc. Dances. (An early stage of physical culture.)

As we follow the training of the adolescent we can thus easily detect our modern curriculum in outline, for its foundations are plainly visible.

Method.— (1) Observation — imitation — practice — participation.

(2) Impressive initiation ceremonies exciting the highest degree of attention, and thus reinforcing memory. During these ceremonies there is a sustained effort to give definite instruction and practice (of a rude sort) in matters of intimate concern to the life of the tribe.

(3) Full participation in the life of the tribe,— at least after a period of probation.

General characterization of primitive secondary education. — From the two studies summarized in Chapters I and II it appears that primitive peoples, while leaving the education of young children to nature and natural conditions, had and still have a definite aim and a studied plan of training in the case of boys of secondary age. The plan involves the conscious adaptation of method and matter to the aim,— in a word organization of a very definite sort. The education of adolescents had in view two distinct and yet closely correlated objects, 1, the mastery of the choicest knowledge inheritances of the race, so presented as to strike the more fully developed imagination of youth and inspire the boys under training with the importance of the impartations; 2, vocational and civic training, which, though simple in character and scope, because of the simple and limited nature of tribal life, was as essential for existence as the more

detailed vocational training of to-day. All this training was conducted by a group of men well fitted by age and experience to induct the new candidates for citizenship into the characteristic ideas and forms of the tribe. This education was thus public, not private. It was a community concern. The organization of education was tribal. In this primitive secondary school the main features of secondary education, which were so familiar in later ages, were already visible.

APPENDIX

1. In connection with primitive tribes it is necessary to keep in mind two characteristic features of their life and thought: —

A. **Totems.**— Ideas connected with their totems,— natural objects, generally animals or trees (but not necessarily these only), which they think were their first ancestors. The totems have certain signs or symbols that appear conspicuously on men's bodies or on prominent objects in the community. More than this, boys are often assimilated to these objects by dress, arrangement of hair, or bodily changes. The totem is one of the most fundamental conceptions among primitive races.

B. **Churinga,—"Bull-roarers."**— The second feature is connected with the first. It is the "bull-roarer." Spencer and Gillen give an interesting account of this object in connection with the Alcheringa,— a name applied to what was to them the beginning of time, the period when their first ancestors were formed. These ancestors were so intimately associated with the totems that one of them is sometimes called kangaroo-man or man-kangaroo. The human idea is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which the man is supposed to have sprung. The history of the tribe began here with these semi-human ancestors having unique powers (as compared with their descendants), which were exercised in part in producing some of the striking geological features of the region. In connection with these Alcheringa ideas, perhaps, or as another version of the doings of those times, we find the story of the creation of men and women from plants and animals through some transformation, making rather inchoate individuals who dwelt in groups along the shore of the Salt Sea that originally covered part of the country. (120 ff., 388.)

Now early races were impressed with the spirit part of the individual, which they objectified in different ways. The spirits of these Alcheringa ancestors were closely associated with certain rounded, oval or elongated, flattened stones and slabs of wood of various sizes (with sides flat and concave, or concave and convex), called churinga. In fact it was supposed that the spirits resided in these objects, and that when a child was born in the tribe, the spirit was reincarnated, the child thus possessing the churinga of the ancestor and of course belonging *to his totem,* without regard to the mother's totem. Naturally these

churinga were decorated with special symbols or devices, the device being "generally a conventional arrangement of circular, semi-circular, spiral, curved, and straight lines, most frequently a series of concentric circles, or a close-set spiral." (145.) They were preserved with great care and secrecy. The location of their depositaries and the stories connected with them became an important part of the knowledge of the tribe that was kept from all but the duly admitted male members. The smaller of these churinga were called bull-roarers. They, like some of the others, had holes bored in one end, perhaps because of a tradition that the Alcheringa men used to hang them up. Strings were attached to the bull-roarers, and a quick whirling in the air produced weird music that added a striking element in ceremonies. It is well known that such objects have in modern times become playthings. Many a one can look back to them as interesting objects of amusement, another illustration, as Haddon suggests, that serious religious objects of primitive times have become the playthings of modern times. We might say that one early educational force has been transformed into another, which, though less impressive, has still some educational value, — is really a part of a great series of educational forces which are of great import in early years. (This account applies to Central Australia, but it is useful for general knowledge of these objects.)

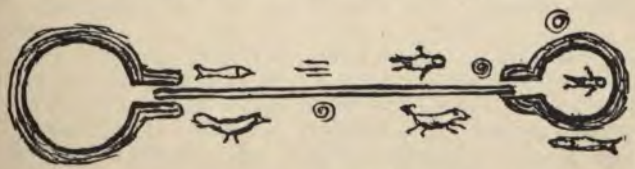
2. **A primitive secondary school.**— Mathews in several articles gives detailed descriptions of initiation ceremonies. Here is an outline of the Bunan of South Wales that he describes in the American Anthropologist 9: 327 ff.

(1.) Ceremonies serving as a signal that a Bunan is to take place.

(2.) Selection of the place.

(3.) Meeting to talk over general interests of the tribe and to determine details of the Bunan.

(4.) Bunan ground prepared, the main elements being, (a) a large circular place cleared, surrounded by a low embankment with a single opening; a pathway leading from the opening to a second circle about a sixth of a mile distant made like the first, but smaller; the path bordered on each side by an embankment for a short distance from the circles. This diagram will illustrate some of these points.



(b) Beside the pathway, in the smaller circle, and elsewhere were various figures and devices made by heaping up earth or cutting (these probably representing totem animals and signs, at least in part).

(5.) Messengers summon tribes to attend.

(6.) Tribes gather, bringing their novices to be initiated. (The

Bunan is not for the single tribe in whose district it occurs. Various tribes are united in it.)

(7.) Headmen and followers examine ground and devices.

(8.) Boys taken away from the women.

There are eighteen distinct movements up to this point, all attended with characteristic forms. These, or at least the most striking of them, are here grouped under the eight heads. The "bull-roarer" is a common accompaniment for certain parts of the initiation ceremonies and continues to be used throughout the Bunan. Frequent corroborees (dance ceremonies) also are held.

Now follow various movements and ceremonies with the boys, which, in the case in hand, may continue for three or four days. The boys, till near the end, must have heads bowed, or covered, or both (except of course where the purpose of the Bunan may require a temporary removal of this restriction, if we may judge from a similar ceremony in another place, though Mathews expressly says that in the present case the boys were kept in this position till near the end of the ordeal). During the entire ceremony they must not speak.

Most of the letters of the alphabet would be required to designate separately all the observances in this part of the Bunan, but they may be condensed and summarized as follows: —

A. Before leaving the vicinity of the circles they see the devices, peculiar dances about them, and some feats of jugglery by doctors and wizards.

B. They go into the bush where they observe, amid special forms calculated to impress them, various performances that, for the most part, are probably symbolic,— dances, games, pantomimes, incantations, and imitations of nature. One of these seems unique in this region. It consists of swaying motions in special directions, accompanied by certain sounds, all intended to imitate the "breaking and recoil" of waves on the ocean shore. A tooth is knocked out, with peculiar forms.

C. Finally they turn toward the original camp, or rather a new one made in their absence by the women assisted by the men left behind. On the way the bull-roarers are placed in the hands of the novices for special examination,— a large one, the jummagong, used in the initiation ceremonies, and a small one, the mooroonga, for general tribal summoning. The boys are now painted, each with characteristic devices peculiar to his tribe (probably totemic symbols), and assume the belt and kilt worn by men. (The men have been painted and decorated earlier, before the beginning of the ceremonies, and now repaint themselves.) The concluding ceremonies of the Bunan gathering take place in a special enclosure near the new camp, and in a special camp for the boys where the old men impress upon them certain interdictions as to the flesh of animals (probably totems).

D. The final ceremonies of initiation however take place at the homes of the several tribes, when the boys, after a life of perhaps some months in the "bush," winning their own living (and perhaps receiv-

ing certain instruction), go through certain forms and are removed from all restraint, but not from all restriction. Before the latter occurs the boys must be present at several Bunans or reach a certain age.

3. **More facts as to the primitive secondary school.**— In his article on initiation ceremonies of Australian tribes, in Proc. of Amer. Phil. Assoc. 37: 54 ff., Mathews tells us that the novices' view is concealed part of the time. They are shown marks and objects, and taught folk-lore connected with the nation. There are burlesques and songs every day, and there are dramatic representations of a crude nature.

The novices after initiation are kept under control of their seniors for a considerable time, and must conform to certain rules laid down by the headmen. They must also attend one additional Burbung (the name of the initiation ceremony in this case) or more, before they are thoroughly acquainted with different parts of the ceremonial and are fully qualified as tribesmen.

4. In his article on the Toara ceremony of the Dippel tribes of Queensland, Amer. Anthropol., 1900: 139 ff., the same author says that while in the "bush" the novices are taught a mystic language understood by none but those who have passed through the prescribed course of instruction.

5. Mathews' article on Phallic Rites and Initiation Ceremonies of South Australian Aborigines (Proc. of Amer. Phil. Soc. 39: 622 ff.), gives these interesting items: —

During the long sojourns in the bush (with the old men), after each ordeal, the boys are permitted to see or listen to certain dances and songs, the secret lore of their forefathers, and stories of the traditional customs of the tribe. A mystic language or vocabulary is also inculcated, known only to the initiated. Every man and woman, all animals, plants, and surrounding objects, and the principal places in their hunting grounds have secret names by which they are spoken of among the initiated, in addition to the general nomenclature with which the women and children are familiar. After the novices have passed through the final stages of the inauguration rites the instruction by the elder tribesmen is continued for many years at the single men's camp at which the catechumens have now the right to be present.

During initiation in the bush with the old men the boys are shown the sacred bull-roarer and certain crystalline quartz stones supposed to protect, or in some way to bestow magical powers on the possessor.

6. We should also note the following items from the same writer's article on the Origin, Organization, and Ceremonies of Australian Aborigines, in Amer. Phil. Soc. Proc., 39: 556 ff.: —

Youths are instructed in customs and traditions (perhaps of their conquerors originally), are shown many things entirely new and are taught another language. Personal names are changed,— kept secret from all women of tribe. Mathews explains a part of the initiation

ceremonies by supposing they grew out of circumstances attending wars and raids. He suggests that ceremonies are kept secret from women, because in war women belong to the victors and would carry the secrets to the enemy.

He says also that pubertal boys are deeply scarified on shoulders and on muscles of breast and thighs.

7. **A Navajo school.**— Mr. Tozzer of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., has been initiated into the Navajo tribe of American Indians. He gave an account of initiation ceremonies in that tribe in a personal interview,— from which the following notes are taken.

Before puberty children pick up in a natural way, through observation, imitation, and showing, the common facts of tribal life,— method of weaving, etc. There is no writing and so no formal education at this period. Young children are present at a ceremony with the "sand painting." The priest utters a sharp cry of the god, gives a drink from a gourd containing the sacred liquid, and transfers his hand from the god's head to that of the child. The latter is naturally awed and even terrified at the ceremony.

There is a nine-day ceremony called the Yei-bi-tsai or night-chant, during which boys and girls are initiated. The ceremony used in initiation must be passed through four times during life, the first time about the age of puberty. In this initiation ceremony the boy sees men dressed in a definite order, the culminating act being the placing of the mask, that really transforms men into gods with the power of gods. Certain rules must be followed as long as the mask is on (there must be no talk, etc.). Before this the novices have supposed that those who appear as gods are real gods who have come down from heaven. The ceremony gives them a new view and a new attitude toward belief. The gods are men personating gods, but still possessing the real attributes and powers of gods when dressed to represent them. The boys also hear and see the complicated ritual, including dances, songs, and prayers, the most vital parts now for the first time, and all at near view for the first time. These things, or at least the most sacred of them, take place in a circular earth hut thirty feet in diameter, called the Hogan. Near by, under the guidance of the old men, they practice all the ritual, till, by constant repetition through this and the succeeding initiations, each practically covering the same points, they become perfected and can conduct the ceremonies themselves. In the Hogan the boys practice "sand-painting" under masters in the art, and subject to the correction (and even bantering) of master and companions. The painting is planned on a large scale. It is shut in on three sides by feathered poles (representing breath or spirit), but is left open on the east. It represents the gods; every line almost is symbolic. It is used in healing ceremonies and for the ceremony with young children that has been referred to.

The real initiation consists of the pollen and yucca ceremony, in which pollen for the girl and yucca fibre for the boy are transferred from

the god to the body, touching various parts and even making some figure. Girls are initiated as well as boys, but they take no part in the dances and are excluded from certain parts of the ceremony. They are seldom in the Hogan, except for healing (no one enters it till the initiation period); otherwise their initiation is similar to that of boys.

8. **Other descriptions.**—"Time after time, when the Ertnatulunga (depository of churinga), is visited, the churinga are rubbed over and carefully explained by the old men to the younger ones, who in course of time come to know all that the old men can impart, and so the knowledge of whom the churinga have belonged to and what the design on each one means is handed on from generation to generation." (Spencer and Gillen, 145.)

9. "The sustained interest" in the Engwura ceremonies, which "were enacted day after day and night after night . . . was very remarkable when it is taken into account that mentally the Australian native is merely a child who acts as a general rule on the spur of the moment. On this occasion they were gathered together to perform a series of ceremonies handed down from the Alcheringa, which had to be performed in precisely the same way that they had been in the Alcheringa. Everything was ruled by precedent; to change even the decoration of a performer would have been an unheard-of thing; the reply, 'it was so in the Alcheringa,' was considered as perfectly satisfactory by way of explanation." At the same time we find that some changes have been made. (Spencer and Gillen.)

10. **Summarized references to Letourneau, with some ideas suggested by the study:**

Art instincts,—47, 58, 69, 114, 125–6, 159, 187 ff., 226. See also 37.

Discipline; parental control,—84, 139, 165, 169, 174, 179, 180, 181, 199, 206.—Success in moral training as compared with scholastic training,—54, 217–19, 238.

Folk-lore; wandering minstrels; story-telling gatherings,—126, 128, 135, 153, 203, 230.

Initiation ceremonies,—40, 41, 53, 85, 86, 134–5, 153–5, 207–8.

Instinct for rhythm, gesture, etc.,—126, 158, 205, 213–4, 217.

Memory, prominence of; weak attention; attitude toward abstractions and generalizations; rote-learning,—44, 54, 59, 127, 128, 203, 232, 233, 243, 248, 249.

Number power,—37–8, 47–8, 59, 67, 123–4, 146, 184, 200–2, 237.

Observation, imitation, play, participation, etc.,—39, 46, 60, 66, 74, 83, 101, 116, 118, 121, 122, 133, 138, 143, 150, 151, 153, 165, 174, 226, 238.

Oratory and oratorical training appearing at an early stage in civilization with freer and wider political status.—84, 85, 126, 135, 176.

Parental education,—40, 46, 53, 116, 118, 122, 133, 143, 151, 152, 153, 165, 171, 174, 180, 198, 199.

Special arrangements for education,—83, 84, 153, 171.

Spontaneous education,—39, 58, 60, 66, 74, 101, 121, 134, 138, 142.

As civilization advances among primitive peoples knowledge, instead of being vested in old men, is vested in special functionaries,—priests, —183.

A study of education among primitive peoples suggests the idea that making education the privilege of a class is a savage trait, or a characteristic of early stages of civilization.

III

SECONDARY TRAINING IN HOMER AND HESIOD

Leaving primitive life of to-day and primitive life of prehistoric times, which, in a way, explain one another, we take up the study of records coming to us from the border-land of the prehistoric and the historic, which at once hark back to more primitive times, give a vivid picture of contemporary life, and look forward into the future.

Educational value of these epics.— The Homeric poems are very interesting from a literary view-point, for they represent the culmination of ballad literature. For our present purpose they are interesting because the ballad relics that they contain give us glimpses of the past and afford us some clue to the educational forces at work in early times. The hints as to education that they give, however, apply particularly to the families of the chiefs whose life they portray. "The people's lot was hard," and their education far more limited and primitive. Hence, while the education that is outlined in this chapter is of a primitive type and will apply, in its general features, to the whole population, there are many features which concern only the special class. This limitation must be kept before us as we look into the educational agencies of the times.

Social and political organization.— Organization and acquisition in Homeric times have much in common with what we have found in previous chapters, but we have evidently come to a new epoch. Political organization is more complex. Several social and political elements appear, each influencing thought and movement. King, council, agora have become clearly defined. It is to be noted that the general body of the people has its force, however small. That the force is not insignificant appears from a brief and significant Homeric sentence,—"The people's voice is stern."[1] While the sev-

[1] Odyssey, XIV.

eral factors of organization are by no means coordinate, the mere fact that they exist is very suggestive and indicates the appearance of new educational forces and wider participation.

The family also has grown. The Homeric family has added a slave element of nurture. The slaves were often high-born individuals who had suffered the misfortune of being kidnapped in the freebooting life of the nobles of the period. Later, when formal education had come in, they were often the regular tutors of boys. Now they had their part in the more informal education of the times. With this high-born slave accession and all the attendants of a large estate the family has become a small village, and, with its varied interests, is broader and more educative than the primitive family.

Change in ideals.— But changes have gone farther than this. Growth in ideals is seen most characteristically in the fact that the community unit is not so exclusive as in earlier epochs. While we know that it ruled, and ruled insistently, at a much later period than we are now studying, still even here we find the beginnings of individual initiative. The gens is still predominant. It moulds, commands and transmits as before, but with this important difference, that the individual stands out more conspicuously, pauses to consider, puts in a protest or suggestion, or even gives signs of moving in an independent course,— a spirit that, as the race evolves, is to add individual development to mere tribal acquisition.[2]

Educational aim.— The educational aim is thus a tribal one still,— to train a worthy member of the tribe or clan. But we must, in addition, look for greater individuality, and this perhaps comes out in the Homeric ideals embodied in the expressions, *speaker of words and doer of deeds; good manager and manipulator of estate or office.*

Growth in race acquisition.— As to accumulations and inheritances in the various lines mentioned in previous chap-

[2] Appendix 3, 17. "And the Assembly swayed like high sea waves of the Icarian main." Iliad, II. "Then to them spake Thoas, son of Andraimon, skilled in throwing the dart and good in close fight, and in council did few of the Achaeans surpass him, when the young men were striving in debate,"— Iliad, XV. See also Iliad III, VII; Odyssey, VI, XV.

ters, they have not merely been increased in number; there has been a great change in spirit and scope. Industrial forces represent a wider range of power[3] and thought. Practical arts show a striking advance over previous periods. Recent explorations in Crete and Greece have revealed surprising skill and perfection here. Applications to life have passed beyond necessity into the realm of luxury. Work was so thoroughly and massively done that it has defied time. The fine arts have shared in the advancement. They have taken on new forms and have developed a more pervasive esthetic feeling. In fact, over the whole life, even the physical, has come a kind of esthetic power whose real significance is seen best in the idea of symmetry, which Greece is eventually to bring into education.[4] Every nation has some art instinct; with the Greeks it first comes to full consciousness as an educational force. Religious feelings have lost something of their awe and sternness,[5] but apparently nothing of their impressiveness. They are freer and more social. Folk-lore has entered the bounds of literature. The physical life has become larger and finer and freer. A really wonderful civilization has been developed.[6] It is even declining, so that the period immediately represented by the Homeric literature has been regarded as a decadent one.[6] Early historic Greece was more primitive than the Greece of the Homeric epoch.

Educational forces.— The educational forces at work are therefore finer as well as more inspiring than those of genuine primitive life, because some of the weights have been removed and individual thought has more outlets. The people responsible for this have gathered up the best with new genius and

[3] Appendix 6, 19, 21; Iliad, II, III, VI, XI, XII, XVI, XVII; Odyssey, IV, V, VII, VIII, XII, XVII.

[4] Appendix 7, 9; Iliad, II, III, XVIII; Odyssey, IV, VI, VIII, XVII, XXIII.

[5] Appendix 4, 18; Iliad, I, II, X; Odyssey, II.

[6] See Schliemann's Excavations (Shuchhardt), and Baikie's Sea-Kings of Crete.

Incursions into Greece of course easily made possible the coexistence of two grades of civilization, a higher one belonging to a conquered people, a lower one due to the vigorous new people pushing on. Under such conditions the social status of a country has zeniths and declines in its cyclic development. At a later time the Roman Empire illustrated the same variety.

have made it better. There is new spirit, new outlook, and, correlatively, new insight.

Method.— The method that goes with this new education impresses one as freer. There seems to have been less of the awesome, less tension of mental and physical attitude. One feels that the province of rote-learning has been narrowed and that the process probably has now to do with mere form. But educational movements are conservative and retain all the past in method. Modes of procedure, like formulæ, are so deeply imbeded in human nature and so impressed through experience that they become natural modes of action and may hold sway far more widely than can be justified, because they do not enter the thoroughfares or even by-paths of thought, but work in the province of the unconscious or subconscious. We shall thus find each epoch clinging to methods that were evolved under other conditions and should have passed wholly, or in large part, with the conditions. It may be true, however, that each epoch contains some of the conditions of all preceding epochs, and that, therefore, we may always find some use for all ideals and methods which have appeared. They form threads in the weaving of the new, but are merely contributory, and find their mission in losing themselves in the new.

Without discussing the matter at great length, which is unnecessary, after the general discussions of the first two chapters, we may summarize the forces at work in this new period and briefly characterize ideals and method.

Education in Homeric Times.[7]

Prominent features or aims: — Speaker of words and doer of deeds. Good ordering of affairs (at home and in the state) — Kindly and intimate home relations.

No formal schools.— Education conducted by the following agencies:

1. Education through the family. Family organization patriarchal,— father, mother, children, slaves (chief slaves whose lot was most happy; common slaves). Children remain long at home, daughters till marriage, sons even after marriage. Hence we have the family in the large sense, really the nucleus of the

[7] Appendix 1–15, (summary of references to the Iliad and Odyssey *bearing on* the different phases of this topic.)

clan. Close and affectionate family relations very noticeable. Familiar and intimate relations of selected slaves with main family; slaves sometimes brought up with children. High consideration accorded woman; freedom; equality (but relics of marriage by purchase). High degree of culture in many ways. Table manners however very crude.— Large estate managed by household. Picture of life of nobles charming, enticing. Sharply contrasted with that of common people.

Home experiences and surroundings many-sided. Hence exercise and training on many sides. Children participate. Depended upon especially to continue line and honor and keep up life of home. Arms inherited and used.

Care, nuture, and training from parents, attendants; sometimes from guardians and prominent characters like Phœnix. Father chief factor in boy's life; mother in girl's. Tutelage long.

Home training supplemented by foreign journeys and expeditions; guest-friendships, comradeships.

2. Education through industrial environment: — Many occupations of the simpler sort,— most important being agriculture, pastoral pursuits, carpentry and ship-building, sea-faring, freebooting, leech-craft, seer-craft, primitive mining, metal work, textile work, household-craft.

3. Education through social and political environment: — Political organization simple but suggestive, offering considerable opportunity for training: — 1. King; 2. Council of Elders; 3. General Assembly. Power in each. Power of people indicated in Od. XIV, "The people's voice is stern."

4. Education through religious environment and into religious knowledge and history: — Many gods, concrete conception; gods interested in and intimate with men; confident and easy relations of men with gods; close contact influences men intellectually, morally, physically; men instructed, endowed, directed by gods. Gods worshipped by vows, prayers, sacrifices. Special forms of worship.

Various stories as to gods' history and relations with men.

Fate.— Spirits of departed.— Omens.— Dreams.— Soothsayings,— etc.

Motives in attitudes toward men and even toward gods often utilitarian. Home virtues strong, beautiful. Community virtues within the class comparatively high. Chivalrous conduct. Larger community virtues low.

5. Education through esthetic environment: — Palace.— Altars. — Objects of personal and home decoration and use, showing great artistic skill. Note especially textile work and metal work. Careful observation of nature aided esthetics greatly.

6. Education through folk-lore: — Songs, ballads (foundation of epics), race and *hero tales*; practical wisdom accumulated as the

race grew and embodied in business directions, in proverbs, etc.; careful and accurate observations of nature,— nature-lore. Old men "wise in ancient lore" much sought. The bard here reached his full development as an educational force.

7. Education through physical environment: — Plays, games, dances, training in arms, etc.

Method in education: — Observation, association, imitation, practice, participation.— Contrasts between child and adolescent frequent; striking characteristics of adolescent noted.— Attractive pictures of home life. Gradual development.

Suggestions from Hesiod as to Education.[8]

Additional points from Hesiod.— Still no formal schools. General educational forces same as in Homer. But Hesiod gives a picture of more homely life.

Some special points: —

A definite and systematic account of the origin of gods. A classification of gods. So an organized body of religious lore to be handed on. Also a systematic account of the origin and development of man, through five races or ages named from metals. In the second race, the silver race, "for a hundred years a boy was reared and grew beside his wise mother."

A body of precepts as to agriculture, etc., and a calendar indicating best days for various things. Altogether a considerable amount of folk-lore to be handed on.

He speaks of the value of rivalry, necessity of labor, and effort for attainment of virtue, all of which are educational. Hesiod's attitude is that of the practical man dealing with every-day conditions of life.

Education of the adolescent in this period.— All this is of much value for our study of the evolution of secondary education. It is not to be expected that poems, composed for the purposes that are evident in these cases,— especially poems evolving as the Homeric poems have evolved,— would go out of their way to speak of education. But incidentally (and incidental things are sometimes the best for our purpose), we get a good deal of information as to the influences at work and the subject matter that surrounded and affected the boy and called him to occupy and use,— a call which was enforced by custom and by the definite efforts of his superiors. From what we learn of the habits of antiquity, which have already been treated at length, we know that the secondary boy gained

[8] Appendix 16–22.

the best of this curriculum that was pressing on him. In Homer he seems to be regarded as a new individual [9] capable of a power, and requiring an education, different from those of the boy. The relics of ancient custom, which we find in the period to be treated in Chapter IV, also show that he was expected to have a training of his own,— especially, though not exclusively, physical, political, and religious training.

Formal schools there were none, any more than in the prehistoric period; individual training at home or in some friendly court or by some striking personality form the very simple organization for educational purposes, but back of it and in it was the social organization that gave the larger education.[10] The practice of sending the boy to a friendly court or to some skillful man indicates special training for the secondary period, for it is this, evidently, that is referred to in the various statements in question, or in many of them.

Homeric education was not primitive education, but it followed its general lines. Where it followed, however, it gave something vastly richer and broader. It seems also to have added one new feature. Besides the group of teachers who, as before, were simply men of experience, headmen, we begin to find the individual teacher with special qualifications, a man endowed with superior fitness for teaching young men. Shall we say that private education has been added to public education?

If we should go back to primitive Greek education, as we may by Homeric aid, by inference from stereotyped forms found in historic times,[11] and by analogy from parallel conditions elsewhere, we should find that adolescent education here was the counterpart of that described in our first chapters in purpose, in course, and in method, which culminated in striking initiation ceremonies. Greek nature, however, may have thus early relieved the austerity, solemnity, and formality which have been noted in primitive training, as it certainly did at a later period.

[9] Appendix 13, 23.
[10] Appendix 10, 11, 22, 23; Iliad, V, IX, XIV, XVI, XVII, XXII, XXIII; Odyssey, XII.
[11] See especially Chapter IV.

APPENDIX

Some references to Iliad and Odyssey on various topics.[12]

1. Ideals: — Iliad, 55, 174. Various parts of the Odyssey emphasize the well-ordering of affairs. Both epics are full of passages showing admiration of strength and stature and physical beauty.

2. Social organization: — Iliad, 43, 117, 137, 210, 262, 452; Odyssey, 14, 26, 37, 40, 41, 42, 50, 52, 68, 80, 84, 90, 122, 175, 178, 200, 219, 222, 233, 236, 241, 242, 244, 245, 250, 264, 272, 283, 304, 305, 307, 310, 312, 321, 353, 378.

3. Political organization: — Iliad, 2, 3, 16, 22, 24, 25, 27, 31, 45, 55, 138, 139, 163, 299, 381, 458; Odyssey, 15, 66, 89, 199, 201, 220, 244, 319, 328, 383.

4. Religion,— animism, gods, omens, dreams, seers, etc.: — Iliad, 3, 21, 22, 31, 47, 48, 86, 129, 192, 212, 236, 240, 266; references to gods, *passim;* Odyssey, 13, 20, 46, 166, 183, 246, 269, 304, 305, 308, 312, 318, 368, 370, 379.

5. Instruction by gods: — Iliad, 192, 282, 348, 458; Odyssey 88, 102, 124, 278, 279, 317, 363.

6. Industrial development,— general occupations, arts, crafts, etc.: — Iliad, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 55, 70, 71, 85, 112, 115, 117, 120, 124, 135, 169, 204, 205, 209, 210, 218, 225, 239, 243, 277, 329, 337, 365, 383; Odyssey, 12, 14, 47, 52, 79, 102, 115, 189, 219, 255, 273, 274, 297, 304-5, 373.

7. Physical development,— games, etc.: — Iliad, 45, 383-84, 458 ff.; Iliad has abundance of passages indicating strong physical development; Odyssey, 6, 45, 89, 90, 91, 113, 118, 281, 291, 362, 373.

8. Folk-lore and means of propagating: — Iliad, 16, 39, 122, 167, 175, 277, 381, 383, 384, 405; Odyssey, 6, 10, 11, 37, 45, 52, 63, 112, 118, 124, 175, 200, 242, 271, 273, 279, 280, 281, 291, 306, 353, 362, 376. Old men as repositories of knowledge: — Iliad, 138, 183, 266; Odyssey, 15, 371, 384.

9. Art: — Iliad, 53, 61, 120, 215, etc.; Odyssey, 47, 90, 175, 199, 269, 363, 372.

10. Parental education.— Close relations of parents and children, etc.: — Iliad, 2, 84, 119, 169, 225, 226, 259, 260, 266, 282, 351, 367, 395-6, 411, 449, 459, 493; Odyssey, 7, 14, 16, 48, 66, 67, 70, 84, 89, 170, 172, 178, 189, 201, 209, 217, 219, 234, 241, 248, 252, 253 ff., 261, 266, 292, 307, 308, 353, 368, 380, 385.

11. Education outside the home: — Iliad, 174, 175-6, 209, 226-7, 260, 320, 395, 396, 452; Odyssey, 234.

12. Child-pictures: — Iliad, 301, 314, 322, 367, 449; Odyssey, 26, 380. Much in this section may apply to social organization. Close relations between parents and children are evident. Intimate relations between the family and certain slaves also appear.

[12] Reference to Palmer's Odyssey; Lang, Leaf, and Myers' Iliad.

13. Recognition of adolescent power, etc.: — Iliad, 209, 299, 411; Odyssey, 10, 12, 40, 108, 283, 289, 298, 301, 331, 355, 372–3.
14. Woman's place: — Iliad, 173; Odyssey, 12, 89, 91, 338.
15. Observation of nature,— *passim*.

CLASSIFICATION OF VARIOUS ITEMS GATHERED FROM HESIOD: —

16. Family life and relations,— cruder; picture less charming than that of Homer. But he deals with a different part of society.
17. Political organization has evidently advanced. See reference to courts: — Works and Days, 37.
18. Religion: — Body of knowledge as to origins; evolution of gods. Classification of gods. Body of religious precepts. Intimate contact of gods with men,— gods watch, conduct, help, instruct. Spirits. Ethical life rudimentary in some particulars, well developed in others. Woman placed below man in character. Works and Days, 250–55, 280–5, 325–35, 340 ff., 375, 460, 705, 730. See also Theogony.
19. Body of knowledge formed of condensed experience of the race in agriculture, often apothegmatic in nature. Astronomical facts as to times and seasons for agricultural operations. Nature signs for guidance. Calendar-lore and superstitions. Such knowledge naturally passed on by oral tradition. Works and Days, 360–70, 380 ff., 450, 460 ff., 775.
20. Body of knowledge or beliefs as to evolution of the human race. Men of the golden race became genii, constantly present with men and guarding them.
21. Industrial life simple. Agriculture emphasized.
22. Education domestic and through environment. Teaching power of poets like Hesiod. Rivalry, necessity of labor, effort for attainment of the good are educational stimuli. Works and Days, 22, 40, 185, 225–35, 285–90, 300–315.
23. "Badness, look you, you may choose in a heap; level is the path and right near it dwells. But before virtue the immortal gods have set exertion, and long and steep and rugged at the first is the way to it, but when one shall have reached the summit, then truly it is easy, difficult though it be before." Works and Days, 285–90.

IV

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GREECE — EARLY HISTORIC PERIOD [1]

Letters the dividing point between primitive and historic education.— The invention of letters marks the dividing point between primitive education and early historic education in Greece. In primitive times letters were not thought of. The little community was a compact and exclusive whole, intensely devoted to maintaining and advancing its life and excluding from it all other communities. Communication was of the simplest form. Written symbols beyond the rudest signs, such as notches, straight lines, and spirals, were unknown. Society did not feel the need of them. The germs of literature, however, were present in the different forms of folk-lore, particularly ballad forms. This folk-lore was easily appreciated, and it was readily transmitted by oral tradition.

As society became more fully organized and the need of communication became more pressing and its forms more varied, written symbols were developed. Crude at first, so that no school was thought of or needed for teaching them, they grew in value, detail, and expressive power [2] till a real alphabet was developed and true phonetic writing and reading were possible. Ballads and hero tales were no longer entrusted to memory, oral tradition, as during the period when Homeric and Hesiodic literature was forming. Books were made, especially books of rhythmic tales, and inscriptions and

[1] In this study Athenian education is taken as the type. Spartan education is very interesting from more than one point of view, but it concerns us little in the direct traditions of the secondary school.

[2] Explorations among the Cretan ruins have shown that long before the Homeric period a "system of writing, syllabic and perhaps partly alphabetic," existed, and this discovery has placed the introduction of writing in Greece seven centuries earlier than has commonly been believed.

other forms of writing were common. By this time the need of having all members of the community familiar with the phonetic elements of language and able to read called for special instruction in such things. Meantime number symbols took the place of the rude devices noted in the previous chapter, though the first symbols were very cumbrous; these too and the needs to which they ministered suggested formal instruction.

The letter school.— As has been shown the only formal arrangements for education in early times, whether in the heroic period, or in the ruder times of later Greek life on the mainland, seem to have had reference only to the adolescent. His was the first school, and we have seen that it was clearly defined in the most primitive civilization. But there came a time, before we get far into the historic period, when the necessity for "letters" and written speech for practical purposes became so pressing that a new form of instruction and a new school were developed, the school of "letters," the latter term being then interpreted broadly enough to include much more than it does now. The seemingly simple and elementary instruction here involved was naturally applied to childhood. Thus formal elementary education began,— first at the home, and later, as society became more specialized, at some common meeting place,— called significantly σχολή in Greece, and in Rome *ludus* and *schola*. It came in Greece in the seventh century, in Rome, three centuries later.[3] Progress in "letters" was gradual, toward more and more complex combinations of symbols and of thought beneath the symbolism. Progress in the mastery of letters had a corresponding evolution.

Characteristics of the Greeks.— As we have now reached the beginning of organized education in Greece it is well to

[3] Herodotus, VI: *27*; Thucydides, VII: 29. See also the Thurian law as to public education, 6th to 7th century, Diodorus, XII: 12, and Solon's law as to compulsory education, Plato, Crito 50, D; Plutarch, Themistocles, 10, speaks of a vote to hire teachers. Conf. Ælian, VII: 15.

Aristophanes describes an interesting school scene,— evidently a typical one. He tells of Athenian children, in order, distributed according to their district, marching in serried ranks through rain, snow, or scorching heat to school; and De Coulanges (*op. cit.* 295), remarks that "The children seem already to understand that they are performing a public duty."

glance at the peculiar characteristics of the people which distinguish them from all other peoples. Only in this way can we appreciate their provisions for education. We began to note these characteristics in treating of the Homeric period. Some of them come to view only in the later Greek period, but we may summarize them once for all here and apply them partially or in full, as the case demands.[4]

Fundamental ideas and characteristics of the Greeks: —

1. Sophrosyne (temperantia).— Arete (virtus).— Courage, love of country (spontaneous, but not deep).— Eukosimia (grace, esthetic expression in all lines) — Proportion,— harmonious development of physical and mental elements.

2. Innate love of freedom and independence (free personality). Self assertion.— Development for individual primary, for state secondary.— Authority of the state from the individual.— Individuality through the state and in the state is the composite way of stating it.

3. Versatility, many-sided activity.

4. Power to generalize, idealize, universalize, and power to make ideals concrete and objective.— Kept going out from simple life and ideas of truth and proportion to a larger life, and thus heightened capacity and power.— Intense intellectuality and fearlessness in taking up and prosecuting to the end any subject or investigation, regardless of issues.— Love of knowledge for its own sake, unfettered by form, religion, or caste.— Creative imagination gave form to narrow realities of life.

5. Religion not abstract. Gods idealized personalities (friendly). — Nature and life full of deity.— A joyful religion of freedom and spontaneity.— Religious concepts, both the simplest and deepest, open to all, not limited, as in Orient.— Saw bright and cheerful side.— Moulded all in esthetic lines.

6. Viewed a virtuous life as a beautiful and happy one, in harmony with self and external relations.— No deep religious sense or reverence. No high conception of abstract duty. No strong and steady devotion to principle. Not conspicuous for solidity.— Not highly developed in truthfulness and other social virtues.— Subtle and genial.— In general, showed broad and varied human sympathy.

7. No genius for order and system.

8. No strong family life; woman subordinate and inferior.

9. Education instinctive product of life and people,— spontaneous.

[4] This list is made up from various studies of the Greek people made by various students of Greek life. Various angles of view help us to get broader and more suggestive ideas as to the Greek people and *their qualities.*

— Also outgrowth of theory and discussion. It was, at its foundation, a realization of capacity. Central idea was to produce a balance in the factors of life. Unity, comprehensiveness, proportion, aimfulness are conspicuous.— Little system or organization.

Political and social environment of Greek youth.— Keeping these characteristics in mind as a guide in interpreting institutions we may now consider in detail the scheme of education provided in the period under review. And first as to the ideal. That which began to emerge in Homeric Greece has grown stronger. The state is still supreme, but the individual has grown. In place of a single ruler and his advisory council, or an oligarchy of rulers, we find a democracy of rulers, but one in which the individual is still dominated by the state. The individual is free to develop himself, to initiate, to mould, though always in the line of characteristic Greek thought. Individual development through and for the state, or, in other words, the realization of capacity for civic life, perhaps expresses the ideal of education as nearly as we can compass it. Here we have combined the two forces, the enveloping state and the developing individual. It is not the first time that personality has counted; Egypt had seen much of it; but it is the first time it has had such ideal conditions.

Aim of education under Greek conditions.— The aim in education in this early Greek period was not merely to train for civic life, but to train in accord with the spirit which has been indicated above. The ideal could be carried out only by the training of a well-balanced individual for state service. Body and mind were to be educated as a unit. The esthetic principle of proportion dominated educational thought, as it dominated Greek thought generally.

Characteristic elements in Greek education. The curriculum.— In connection with the subject matter of school training the Greeks had a fondness for a terminology of a very inclusive nature that has now given place to a narrow and prosaic one. From the earliest times they were devoted to what they called mousike.[5] In trying to interpret this term

[5] Plato, Protagoras, 326; Republic, 376 ff., 404, 522; Aristotle, Politics, VIII, 3:7–12. See also chapter on Plato's and Aristotle's Secondary Schools, Chapter VI.

we must divest ourselves of all preconceived notions of the word,— forget its association with our word, music, or rather forget the narrow signification of the word with us. It meant that which the Muses blessed and applied to various modes of expression in human life,— whether mental or physical. It included rhythm of body as well as rhythm of language. It applied again to all those symbols and forms that give us access to man's spoken or written thoughts, and finally it applied to that which is suggested by the quantitative relations of society (and which is itself the basis of rhythm),— number. Mousike is seen in the primitive scheme, but it became more organized, more conscious of its educational functions, as time went on. To the simple forms of life to which alone the early boy reacted (if we except the germs of literature that were referred to in earlier pages) were gradually added the higher forms of art,— more elaborate esthetic development in literature, color, and form. Physical education was correspondingly organized, so that the boy took up at the palæstra [6] a regular course of exercises calculated to make him a perfect physical boy, including grace of carriage as well as symmetry of body. The whole curriculum may thus be summed up by the two expressions *mousike* and *physical training*.[7] The course evidently had a double aim, first to give the boy practical command of the facts of life; second to cultivate a keen sense of esthetic values expressed in grace of body and grace of mind. All may be comprehended in the words *growing citizen worthy of the Greek state*.[8] Around all this and permeating it was that education which the boy was getting by natural means in the life of the community, an education both practical and intellectual, the only education of the earlier times. This was giving him increased mastery of folklore and of the form, spirit, and special characteristics of com-

[6] This was a private building or enclosure. Secondary school boys were trained in a public building.

[7] Davidson, Aristotle, 72 ff. Lucian in his Anarcharsis gives a more detailed classification. Drawing was sometimes added, at least in later times,— Aristotle, Pol., VIII, 3. As to curriculum, compare do. VIII, 3:7–12. For matters of general interest as to the curriculum see Appendix 1, 2.

[8] Davidson, *op. cit.*, 36.

munity life. Esthetic forms here had a very natural and effective ministry.[9]

But it should be noted that old Greek education had a substantial moral and religious element in it. One can feel the moral element in the choice of material for their simple curriculum, in the motions of the boys in and out of school, in the strong "discipline" of the boy's school life. It was this element particularly to which later writers harked back in their lamentations over the decadence of education. As to religion, it permeated Greek life. The gods, their symbols and their worship, surrounded and influenced early Greek life, not oppressively, but impressively.[10]

Methods in the elementary school.— As to method, reading was taught by the barest synthetical method, writing more concretely, but still synthetically. Arithmetic was presented more pedagogically, by objects, finger symbols, and the abacus, though the notation and symbols were so cumbrous that only the most elementary knowledge was practicable, all that was necessary in the earlier and simpler times. The practice books in the formal language work were Greece's great epics, which admirably met children's interests.

It will be seen that this curriculum represented a natural development. It met the needs and demands of the time in an effective way. This is true in a sense of method,— even the part of it that applied to letters. The forms of language must be learned, and they took the most obvious method of learning them. This does not mean that the method was pedagogical; it was not, though it had this pedagogical feature, that it gave the child familiarity with a great literature that appealed to his interest, before the forms were learned. It was the product of an unreflecting and unscientific age, before men became conscious of a relation between child-interest, child development, and method. This came out later in the work of some of the educational philosophers; but the formal method had become so fixed that it probably never yielded to the pedagogical insight and suggestions of reformers.

[9] Conf. Aristophanes, Clouds (Monroe's Source Book, 82 ff); Plutarch, Lycurgus; Thucydides, Paricles' Funeral Oration. See Monroe, *op. cit.*, 15 ff.

[10] Monroe, *op. cit.*, 82 ff; Appendix 2.

Results.— All this, as has been indicated, was the work of early school years. It completed the form-work, and gave the keys to the recorded inheritances of the race and power to record current additions to thought and achievement.

Education for boys only.— Naturally, in accordance with Greek characteristics, even this elementary course was for boys only. Girls were restricted to domestic life, and an extremely narrow domestic life at that. Greece limited herself here seriously and with serious consequences, but she took special heed of her boys and made education compulsory for them.[11]

So much for primary education. As shown elsewhere it is helpful, if not absolutely necessary, to make brief references to this phase of training; for to understand the real significance of secondary education it is desirable to see something of its setting and relations.

Secondary education.— The adolescent boy's education became correspondingly organized.[12] But formal education had been completed in the elementary period; the adolescent had none of it. He doubtless continued his interest in the literary products of his race, whether ballad-song, hero-tale, or epic, and he could recite on occasion. Music still occupied him, but now in a more technical sense. For the most part, however, he gave himself to physical exercises and to training for civic duties. There were special arrangements for his training, but aside from these there was ever present the potent training of a Greek environment.

Method.— The nature and method of this course of training are striking. The work was more sustained and more serious than that of previous years. But there was freedom from irksome restraint, though the youth was constantly impressed by his relations to a closely organized community that surrounded him, watched his movements, and guided him with definite purpose according to a carefully prescribed general plan. As formal education of the school had passed with the elementary period, he learned by seeing the things them-

[11] Appendix 1, 2; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 82.

[12] Plato, Protag., 326; Davidson, *op. cit.*, 85–90; Laurie, Pre-Christian Educ., 276, 287; Mahaffy, Old Greek Educ.

selves in full operation, by coming into close touch with them, and later by cooperation and service in them, winning the natural penalties and rewards which attend such service. He learned the laws, but he gained a finer knowledge of them by observation and doing. Civic duties were learned by social contact and participation, and military duties were mastered by a similar method applied to that field of activity. This observation and practice, however, were not optional, but compulsory. The great national games, bringing together delegations from various sections that were not ordinarily in close touch with one another, brought a new kind of participation, wider observation, and broader social contact.

When we come to physical education we find an advanced course carried out strictly and systematically in a special public building under a special teacher supplied by the state. It is probable that this work also was compulsory; it was so in early days. The games again offered stimulus to physical exercise, but only for a very few, so far as actual participation went.

General estimate.— Adolescent education as a whole was thus largely through observation and doing. The method was concrete and suggestive. The aim was to train a well-balanced individual for service in the state.

Special ceremonies characteristic of the education of the adolescent.— But there was another factor in method and another course in the curriculum. The boy's induction into citizenship was marked by special forms, his initiation ceremonies.[13] We found that in early times the characteristic part of the adolescent's training took place in this connection and gave him mastery of the most important parts of the knowledge-accumulations of his tribe. They occupied an extended and absorbing period. The ceremonies had now been reduced in detail, but they still must have been a not unimportant means of impressing the youth who were thus initiated. The momentum gained in the ages of their greater prominence still gave them meaning and force.[14] They served to clinch the adolescent's training and helped to make him a true Greek.

[13] Davidson, *op. cit.*, 89, 90; Mahaffy, *op. cit.*; Appendix 3.

[14] "On proof of his birth status and his fulfilment of moral and physical conditions prescribed by statute or common law, he was

General characteristics of Greek education.— All in all Greek training was training for power, for capacity, and not for mere acquisition.[15] It must be remembered, however, that the individual was still distinctly subordinate, especially in the earlier part of the period with which we are dealing. Thus his range was as yet narrow. It was limited by the old forms and bounds that we have found in ancient society (see Chapter I). But he had begun to have a broader outlook. Subordination was not that of the old times. The individual was gaining a new position.

Summary.— The adolescent's education may be summed up in the following outline, and may be compared with that of the elementary period that is given beside it.

EDUCATION FOR EARLY PERIOD, BEFORE THE FIFTH CENTURY.

Aims: — Development of capacity of the individual and preparation for civic duty in accordance with Greek characteristics. Harmony and balance; education of body and mind as a unit. A well-balanced individual for state service.

Curriculum.

ELEMENTARY		SECONDARY
Reading, writing and simple number work.	M	A. Further familiarity with folk-lore and with great literature of the nation,— through continued reading, recitation, etc. Music,— more definite study.
Learning of folk-lore.	o	
Music,— simple, strong songs with lyre accompaniment.	u s i k	
Physical exercise (in games and palæstra). Aimed at rhythm and grace and soundness of body,— physical excellence worthy of Greek citizenship.	e	Religious training,— through observation and participation in choruses and festivals.
		Civics—Observation of civic and social life of community. Laws learned and practiced.

registered in his Deme, his hair was cut, he assumed the characteristic citizen dress, was presented to the Athenian people in public assembly, was duly armed with typical Greek weapons, and at the altar of the canonized daughter of autochthonic Cecrops (a Totem father) took the time-honored oath binding him to the support of his country. Social as well as religious functions attended these initiation ceremonies which marked a great epoch in the boy's life." See Appendix 3.

[15] Davidson, *op cit.*, 72.

Mastery of form, spirit, and special characteristics of community life.

Gymnastics: — More serious and sustained course of physical training than that given in palæstra. This course given in gymnasium. Also games.

B. Admission as amateur citizen with religious and social ceremonies,— initiation ceremonies. After this, one year of serious military training (comparatively mild in Greece); participation in festivals; one year of actual service on frontier of Attica.

C. Full citizenship. Participation in all civic functions. Trained by state. This was the graduate course of Athens.

Method: — 1. In *elementary education.*— *Reading,*— synthetic method.— *Writing,*— imitation, tracing. The pupil made his own reading book; hence reading and writing were correlated. *Arithmetic,*— sand, counters, abacus.— *Geography* and *History,*— through correlation.— *Religion* and *Morals,*— through correlation, and through observation of and participation in the life of the community, in an elementary way, etc.— Gymnastics,— under trainer.

Imparting, memorizing, imitation were prominent.— (Charts, pictures, etc., for teaching probably came later.)

2. In *secondary education* methods were generally concrete and suggestive. Observation, participation, service were prominent. Some memory work (learning the laws).— Emulation used as an incentive.— Formal training in Gymnasium under scientific training-master.— Youth was generally under careful surveillance. (Later, young men had a civic organization in imitation of state, giving practical training.)

Notice in secondary education intense physical training, absence of formal training, freedom from irksome restraint, concrete and suggestive work, social contact and social participation, outward look.

Initiation ceremonies ended one stage of training and introduced another. They impressed certain facts of the past and future. A characteristic educational force.

Greek secondary education peculiarly adapted to adolescence.— It must be acknowledged that this scheme, both

subject matter and method, was, in many ways, admirably adapted to accomplish the purpose in mind. This will appear more pointedly from a study of adolescent characteristics,[16] which differ, not merely in degree, but in quality, from those of other periods of life.

If we examine the secondary course as developed by the Greeks in the light of these characteristics it is plain that it was adapted to the boy of secondary age in some noticeable features.

1. It gave opportunity for wider and stronger observation.

2. It gave expression to adolescent nature and activity in many lines. Adolescent physical life that was rampant had an outlet in healthful physical exercise and occupation. Civic instincts related themselves to the community in vital ways. Esthetic stimulus and patriotic employment gave opportunity for natural development of the emotional life of the adolescent. Stimulating ideals were all about him, and were handed down from the past in an attractive literature; they could readily objectify themselves in plans by which the youth related himself to the community. Moral life again had a field for spontaneous growth, under natural and sensible conditions, but under definite guidance.

3. The restraint of form and of careful regulation and surveillance was there, but mingled with a certain ount of individual freedom and initiative. Where proporti. is duly regarded this makes the best combination for steadying adolescent natures.

4. The tendency was to encourage outlook, rather than excessive introspection.[17] The facts and meaning of human relations were at hand and could be realized in a healthful way,— by interested observation and participation.

5. Formal training, such as appears in a formal study of language, was relegated to the elementary period which takes kindly to learning mere form.

By a kind of intuition the Greeks devised a scheme of adoles-

[16] The author has summarized adolescent characteristics gathered from many sources in the Journal of Pedagogy, Vol. 17, pp. 114 ff. (1904–5).

[17] Davidson, *op. cit.*, 85–88; Laurie, *op. cit.*, 276, 287; Mahaffy, *op. cit.*

cent education that was, in a rather remarkable degree, suited to the secondary school age. A natural development along the lines it suggested would have perfected the scheme. But tendencies were at work that served to transform the early secondary education into a formal scheme of training, and to emphasize formal and unpedagogical methods. The science of education lagged behind other sciences. Other matters were waiting for development, and attention was given in their direction intensively. It is only in the last few years that a scientific study of the individual and of the relations of the human and the culture subject have begun to make us sensitive to adolescent needs. We are approaching consciously and scientifically, though very slowly, the point that the Greeks, and, before them, primitive peoples, reached by intuition. When we actually reach it we shall find that the early secondary course contained the germs of what we are seeking. We shall be able to avoid their inconsistencies and fulfil their prophecies.

APPENDIX

1. **Elements of Greek education.**— Plato, Protagoras, speaks of early education at home and in the school and goes on to say, "When the boy has learned his letters and is beginning to understand what is written, as before he understood only what was spoken, they put into his hands the works of great poets, which he reads at school; in these are contained many admonitions and many tales and praises, and encomia of ancient famous men, which he is required to learn by heart, in order that he may imitate or emulate these men and desire to become like them. Then again the teachers of the lyre take similar care that their young disciple is temperate and gets into no mischief; and when they have taught him the use of the lyre, they introduce him to the poems of other great poets, who are lyric poets; and these they set to music, and make their harmonies and rhythms quite familiar to the children, in order that they may learn to be more gentle and harmonious and rhythmical, and so more fitted for speech and action; for the life of man in every part has need of harmony and rhythm. Then they send them to the master of gymnastic, in order that their bodies may better minister to the virtuous mind, and that the weakness of their bodies may not force them to play the coward in war or on any other occasion. This is what is done by those who have the means, and those who have the means are the rich; their children begin education soonest and leave off latest. When they have done with masters, the state again compels them to

learn the laws, and live after the pattern which they furnish, and not after their own fancies; and just as in learning to write the writing-master first draws lines with a style for the use of the young beginner, and gives him the tablet and makes him follow the lines, so the city draws the laws, which were the invention of good lawgivers who were of old time; these are given to the young man in order to guide him in his conduct whether as ruler or ruled; and he who transgresses them is to be corrected, or, in other words called to account."— Protagoras, 326.

2. **The old and the new.**— Aristophanes in his Clouds takes up the matter of education, contrasting the old and the new. The whole picture is of course one of irony, and though the description of the old is a serious one, we may perhaps question whether there is not a temptation to exaggerate and color. Still the account is a useful one to use in connection with other material. Here is a brief summary of certain parts of the passage, showing the nature of the old education: — The boy was to be quiet. Boys from the same quarter marched in good order to the school of the harp-master naked and in a body, even if it snowed "as thick as meal."

The master taught the old substantial music, not present quavers. Boys were to maintain a virile, modest, respectful attitude during instruction, and generally. Bodies were not anointed below the navel, so that they "wore the appearance of blooming health." Strict discipline was customary.

3. **Initiation.**— At eighteen, if he fulfilled requirements, moral and physical, he was entered as a regular member of his Deme. After this he was introduced to the whole people at a public assembly, was armed, and took the oath. His induction into citizenship was attended with religious ceremonies that remind us of, and, with other attendant ceremonies, are probably a relic of, prehistoric initiation ceremonies. He now served two years as soldier, the first year drilling near Athens, learning the art, and taking part in public festivals, the second year undertaking more serious military service. It was evidently a "hardening process," while it afforded an excellent opportunity for becoming perfectly acquainted with the topography of the country. He may also have taken part in citizen duties in the city, in assembly and courts. At the close of the two years, if he stood a final test, he became a full-fledged citizen. See Davidson, Arist., 89, 90, and Mahaffy, Old Greek Educ.

V

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GREECE — LATER HISTORIC PERIOD

Contrasts between the periods of Greek development.— Greek life during the period discussed in the last chapter represented an immense advance over primitive life. The city-state had been developed and had already existed for an indefinite period, and culture forms and culture material had advanced conspicuously. But life was still simple. The social and political unit was narrow, confined, self-centered. While individual freedom had made some gains, it had little breadth or scope, to such an extent was the individual dominated by the state. Thought had certainly been broadened and fined, but those simple, strong primitive ideas that we have noted in other chapters still made themselves felt and retained much of their pristine vigor. The Greeks had not penetrated and analyzed the world without, much less the world within. But a fuller entrance into these two worlds was at hand. Psychological development and historical development, reacting on one another,[1] brought a new epoch. The later Greek period was characterized by wider contact with the external world and the world of thought, and by consonant changes in men's relations to these objective and subjective worlds.[2] Athens now became self conscious. As a natural corollary of all this the individual assumed greater importance,— even became dominant.

Changes in the later Greek period.— In connection with this evolution four points need special notice here.

1. Greek education had strikingly increased in recent centuries. Books multiplied and became the natural repositories

[1] It would be interesting to follow this out in detail and go further into the evolution of a new Greece, but it would not be germane to our main purpose. The general statement as to causes must suffice here.

[2] Appendix 1; Monroe, History of Education; Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, 84; Kirkpatrick, Amer. Jour. of Educ., 24: 453 ff.

of the most attractive thoughts and experiences of the race and the most intense thinking of the time. They thus, in large measure, took the place of oral tradition that was characteristic of primitive times.

2. Language had developed in literary, artistic, and scientific lines, becoming more expressive, complex, and philosophical. Hence men turned more to the world of books, less to the world of things. The change brought with it two new educational agencies, one found in contact with and study of books, the other found in the exposition of literature in the free public theatre and at the international literary contests during the celebration of Greek games.

3. Music and art had changed in character. The significance and value of detail were better appreciated. Technique and modes of appeal to sentiment and the emotions began to be studied. A wonderful artistic sense had been developed. The broadening process was fully as marked here as in other directions. A new world had been discovered in art, as in other fields of mental effort,— a subjective world.

4. Physical training received less attention than before; the strict traditional regimen had been relaxed, as related to both the individual and the state.

The underlying causes.— But all these things were but secondary; they were merely phenomena. There were two far more fundamental matters that give us a deeper insight into the times and help us to understand their spirit: —

1. **More scope for the individual.**— The community had ceased to think so fully for the individual and to impose its dictum unalterable upon him. Tribal standards in this sense had passed. There was thus more scope for individual standards. The old unity and compactness of organization had been outgrown. New unities were forming.[3] The reforms that go by the names of Draco, Solon, and Cleisthenes represented one

[3] The new of course required a long development before it could become stable and take hold of the populace sufficiently to produce a solidarity comparable with the old. Meantime social and political life were liable to be ragged and to court temporary disaster. But men did not make the modern mistake of postponing democracy because conditions were not perfect. Democracy is educative. Rightly guided *and balanced* it grows securely.

side of this change, the external. But there was another and more important side, the psychological. The individual had asserted himself, and social organization had become secure enough to allow him more latitude. The community was thus prepared to advance to something higher than was possible in the old tribal days. To these changing conditions again must be added the wider and more complex national relations that called for new power to direct and utilize them.

The Greek citizen must be prepared to meet these broader relations with the outside world and the opportunities they offered for diplomacy and personal and civic advancement through national and international politics. He must meet also the still greater demands that a new era of thought and individual freedom made upon him. To do this he must have power of independent thought, power to analyze, compare, judge, discuss, power to throw his personality into new premises and syntheses. In a word, he must have dialectic power, if the community and the individual were to rise above the level of the past. It might be often at the expense of individual damage and even destruction, if not steadied by the balance of a just education that it was the business of the state to give. But these are mere accidents for which a great evolutionary movement is not responsible, and for which it does not stay. The dialectic method was a natural and logical growth and a vital condition for working out the genius of the new epoch. Socrates was not so much its discoverer as a typical exponent of what the times produced. Some of his reported discussions represent a drama in which tradition and newly springing independence played leading rôles. This represented the internal side of the change,— the psychological.

These conditions required a new linguistic development, if the Greek citizen of the day was to assert himself and meet the situation to which forces without and within were directing him. He must have power to formulate and express his thought effectively, if the power of dialectic was to have due issue in swaying men's minds. This was a sine qua non for personal advancement.

2. **The individual the center.**— All this naturally modified Greek ideals. In the buoyancy of the new times, and

under the spur of individual freedom, whose very newness excited the adolescent spirit of the nation, the tendency was toward individualism,— not the individual for the state, as formerly, but the individual for himself, and the state also for him. This made the individual the center of culture and education and led him to lay siege to everything that would minister to his power and enjoyment.[4] The ideal was most sensitively balanced and led to evil as easily as to good — more easily, because the ideal was only a partial one. Hence the brilliance and tragedy of later Greek history. From the same conditions also came that other individualism whose summum bonum was cultivated leisure (diagoge), which has given us charming pictures of classical life, though marred by civic inaction and the suggestion of decadence.

Graphic comparison of early and later periods.— Looking at the period as a whole, from about the sixth century to the third, we may make a brief comparative summary of its characteristics as follows:

EARLY PERIOD[5]	LATE PERIOD[5]
1. City state small. Citizens few. An aristocracy.	1. City state larger. Citizenship broader. Intense democracy.
2. Eternal relations simple, narrow; internal relations simple.	2. External relations broader, more complex. Wider contact with other civilizations. Internal relations broader, more complicated. Many-sided life.
3. Thought simple, concrete, objective, outward.	3. Thought more complex, dealing more with details and meanings of things; subjective.

[4] We find here that the new features in social organization and the new element in method beginning to appear in the Homeric epoch, have reached their outermost limit. The new outdid itself and, in a way, developed a virtue into a vice. But this must not obscure the characteristic contributions that Greece made to education,— individual initiative and opportunities for individual development.

[5] The generalizations are made up from many sources,— Mahaffy, *op. et loc. cit.;* Kirkpatrick, *loc. cit.;* Laurie, *op. cit.,* 306 ff.; Monroe, *op. cit.,* 84 ff., 91 ff.; De Coulanges, *op. cit.,* 475 et al.; Aristotle, Pol., VIII, 1:3; Plato, Rep., 499, 524, 527–30, 532–3; Appendix 1, 2, 3. See also Botsford and Sihler, Hellenic Civilization.

4. Literature expressed great objective facts, in simple narrative, or in simple song.	4. Literature more artistic, more philosophical, dealing more with inner meanings and relations.
5. Art also more or less objective, representing generalized ideas in concrete form. Appealed by wholes.	5. In art more attention to detail and effect of detail; more attention to expression of emotions.
6. Norms external, in tradition.	6. Norms within, reasoned for self; transferred to others through special method, not by the fiat of tradition alone.
7. State supreme.	7. Individual supreme.

Summary of the demands of the new period.— Altogether then the new period shows a new attitude toward inheritances, more individuality, more personal responsibility, greater freedom of thought.[6] New relations, new interests, new ambitions were pressing the young Athenian forward. With these changes had come a richer growth of acquisition in all directions. New studies and new methods also demanded admission to the educational program. Leadership, which might be the aim of any true Athenian, depended upon the effective use of words,— not the old natural language power, but a studied skill. The orator became an ideal. Audiences, whether of the spoken or of the written word, were more intelligent, more critical, more exacting, and acted as an external pressure to supplement the inner stimulus that came to the individual from his higher mental development. Thus larger intellectual attainment, more resources for instructing and illustrating, wider and more technical language power were needed.

A new curriculum and a new method.— As to the schools, a broad and rigid course in linguistics, involving a knowledge of the whole realm of literature, was the natural means of gaining the desired end,— training in language such as had never existed before. The sciences of grammar and rhetoric date from this time. The two-fold *musice* that had formed a single unity in the old curriculum was divided. Each of its parts had become so large that it formed a distinct department in educa-

[6] See De Coulanges' Ancient City (one of the most striking and appreciative studies yet made), 470 ff.

tion. "Letters" and "music" were henceforth distinct in at least one great series of schools.

Dialectic.— But ideas must come before expression. For expression a study of dialectics was needed to give it point and effect. The new linguistic training might afford opportunity for much of this, but it must be supplemented by the other study that partook of the nature of psychology and philosophy and provided both matter and method.

A new curriculum had thus come into being, consisting of the old studies developed and broadened and the new studies rising out of the new conditions. Some one has said that the early Greek curriculum produced habits, but that there was needed a further education on the intellectual side to guide, and free habits. The best of the new could do this. The whole of the new was not found in any one place, and it was found in few schools, but it was a part of Greek life and was calculated to give a more extensive and intensive intellectual development and to produce technical skill.

New teachers.— But new courses and new methods required new teachers. These were the sophists. Their appearance was not accidental nor sudden. They grew naturally out of the new times. They offered both wide knowledge of things that were attracting attention, and training in thought, thought method, and expression. Their curriculum, if it could be called such, was a very inclusive and ambitious one, covering the whole range of knowledge. Their aim was to make the individual supreme. As ever, there were two classes of teachers,— those who were thorough and professional, and those who were superficial and unprofessional. The former aimed at a thoroughly trained man and founded their work on principles.[7] The others aimed at immediate individual success, made much of short-cut methods, and by their agnostic attitude tended to upset absolute values and standards and make each man his own norm. They were the proprietors of the "thinking-shops."[8]

[7] As to the two classes of sophists, and sophists generally, see Appendix 1, 2, 3; Davidson, *op. cit.*, 101 ff.; Kirkpatrick, Laurie, Mahaffy, *op. et loc. cit.*; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 68, 85, 95 ff.; Plato, Rep., 493, 496, 497.

[8] "I will go myself to the thinking-shop and get taught,"— Monroe, *op. cit.*, 68.

Two aims.— We can make our ideas of the new education clearer and more definite by analyzing it and distinguishing its aims. In the course of our discussion two ideals have been prominent,– 1, rhetorical supremacy, command of winning forms; 2, intellectual supremacy, power to discuss reasons and to initiate. Correlatively there were two great objects in life,– 1, influence in public life, power to impress and express, in which self was the center; 2, cultured leisure, in which again self was the center. To be just we should perhaps discover a third object that would combine the other two. These objects defined educational aims.

Two series of schools, 1. Schools of Rhetoric.— It was thus natural that the Sophist schools should split into two great series:– 1. Schools of Rhetoric, the best type of which is found in the school of Isocrates.[9] This great teacher built on a good secondary course of training in grammar and literature, taken before entering his school. He believed that higher education should be "*practical, rational, comprehensive,*" and he emphasized training in three lines,— defining objects, adapting means, and developing power through effort. These schools of rhetoric, with their presuppositions, took the most characteristic parts of the sophist course, *linguistic studies, general information studies,* and *oratory*. Linguistics were the core of the curriculum.

It must not be supposed, however, from the statement that a rhetorical school built its work upon a course of secondary training, that nothing inside the school was of a secondary nature. It must have been true that instruction in at least some of these schools was partly, and probably largely, of a secondary nature, just as a large part of the early university course in the Middle Ages was of this character and was applied to boys in their early 'teens.

Method.— Method in these schools was new in some of its elements. It probably still included the traditional principles of imparting information and memorizing; but in addition there was now built up an elaborate system of language training, including imitation, practice, and drill, with abundant

[9] Appendix 4; Laurie, *op. et. loc. cit.;* Monroe, *op. cit.,* 98, 100, 105–108.

rules. Formal language work was elaborated with much detail.[10]

2. Schools of philosophy.— In these schools the conspicuous leaders were Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Plato and Aristotle tried to outline a state and a system of education that would unite individual and community interests.[11] Their work as a whole was opposed to the formal work of the other sophists. It emphasized the development of power rather than mere communication and class-room mechanics, the intellect rather than memory, device, and formal practice. Here were developed those studies and methods that may be characterized as philosophical and scientific. They applied to the acquisition of knowledge of both the outer and the inner world.

It was in connection with this class of schools particularly, though not exclusively, that one of the characteristic feelings of the Greek race came into the ideals of education. The true Greek had a very keen idea as to what accorded with Greek dignity. Certain things were "liberal," worthy of a freeman; other things were "illiberal," and to be avoided. Anything that was extreme or of a mercenary character was illiberal. The mean in the non-commercial pursuits and those that involved higher intellectuality was a just object of effort. These ideas colored Greek education and were especially prominent in Plato and Aristotle.[12]

Method.— Method here was decidedly less formal than in the first series of schools and was better, but not perfectly, adapted to adolescent interests. It involved thought work (dialectic), active participation of both pupil and teacher, familiar converse, lectures. Method thus became more pedagogical.

If we should attempt to specify the feature of Greek educa-

[10] Conf. Plato, Protag., 326.

If we should consider method more in detail and in its wider signification, as it showed itself in later Greek education, we might imagine we had reached modern days. Prize contests, examinations, and various student customs suggest that it is difficult for us to devise anything new as to externals.

[11] Monroe, Lectures on the History of Education.

[12] Aristotle, Pol.; Plato, Rep.; Conf. Cicero, De Of., I: 42.

tion that was most significant for the future we should most appropriately single out that element of method, or form of method, that is called dialectic. It has been characterized generally from the point of view of results. It is better defined as a process. To describe it as the questioning method is very superficial. Dialectic involved, first, development of the individual as opposed to mass teaching. In the second place, it required participation on the part of the pupil. In the third place, and most significantly, it led to investigation of facts and problems by healthful and stimulating inductive methods till the ultimate truth was reached. Speaking generally it was of course all a questioning process, but of a very comprehensive nature. It was systematic, scientific, thought-stimulating. It involved rigid analysis as a basis for new and sounder synthesis. In this way it exercised all the powers and brought real development, both from the point of view of the individual and from that of the subject studied. For the first time then the old process of rote-learning had been seriously invaded. While the ancient method was destined to be used for some purposes and to have large influence in some cases and in some periods, the new method was to have increasing influence till it occupied the field.[13]

Differentiation in curricula.— At first secondary and higher education were perhaps not very distinct. It may all be designated as higher education. But in time there probably came a differentiation, so that the secondary curriculum may be regarded as approximating the following form:[14]

[13] The method may be described a little more in detail as follows:— It is proposed to discover the truth in a certain direction. At the outset a question is raised as to the first basal fact from which we may proceed toward the end in view. This may be reached directly, or indirectly by first removing a false assumption or opinion. Then the second fact that will serve the main purpose is discovered by a similar process of investigation. And so we proceed by a process of investigation, elimination, suggestion, construction till the final result is reached, which represents in a sense the summation of all the partial results attained along the way. Dialectic is the parent of all objective methods, whether characterized as inductive, developmental, or laboratory.

[14] Aristotle, Pol., VIII, 3:7–12; Plato, Rep., 404, 424, 427–30, 432–3; Laurie, *op. cit.*, 306 ff.; Mahaffy, *op. cit.*, 53 ff., 57 ff., 76, 78 ff.; Kirkpatrick, in Amer. Jour. of Educ., 24:453 ff. It should be borne in mind that different schools and classes of schools probably made special selections and gave different emphases.

A. Linguistics,— grammar, literature, elementary rhetoric.
B. Science,— arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography. Elementary, uncorrelated, informational work. In later adolescence there probably came more systematic science and
C. The introduction to philosophy, dialectics.
D. Music. More emotional. More finesse than formerly.
E. Instruction through theatre and games.
F. Physical training, changed in form and aims. Less purposeful and strenuous. Proportion between bodily and mental education broken. Man and citizen separated.

Method: — In *linguistics* the so-called classical method, formal, full of "exercises" and drills. The study of *elementary science* was correlated with that of linguistics. It was accidental. (The study of advanced science and philosophy in later adolescence was conducted by inductive and dialectic methods.)

Greek contributions to education.— Formal schools were now established for both the elementary and the secondary period. The formal school of books for adolescents took the place of the practical school of observation and spontaneous suggestive life. With distinct loss there was, however, distinct gain. The intellectual field was opening. On the curriculum side certain culture subjects were developed that eventually, if we add Alexandrine influence and the Roman genius for grammar, were to grow into the "seven liberal arts," — the "trivium" and the "quadrivium." In the realm of method we find that the process of education had become more developmental.

Problems for the new era.— It remained for coming centuries to regulate education in the new field and to make method more pedagogical and healthful. It remained also to enlarge and define aims and to direct means definitely to their fulfilment.[15] For with this influx of new subjects and new thoughts it was natural that aims should be imperfect and means inadequate, and that views as to ends and aims should be unsettled.[16] Greek education, however, had inherited and developed certain principles and forms, and above all, a certain spirit, and these had a long rule,[17] reaching on into the new era.

[15] Appendix; Laurie, *op. cit.*, 312 ff.
[16] Appendix; Aristotle, Pol., VIII; 2, 3; Plato, Rep., 404.
[17] Laurie, *op. cit.*, 311; Aristotle, *op. cit.*, VIII; 3; Plato, Rep., 376 ff., 22.

APPENDIX

1. **The sophists.**— Speaking of the change in the strict limits of early ideas and organization and the evolution of new ideals, De Coulanges (in The Ancient City, pp. 474 ff.) says: —"The sophists came afterwards (after Pythagoras and Anaxagoras), and exercised more influence than these two great minds. They were men eager to combat old errors. In the struggle which they entered against whatever belonged to the past, they did not spare the institutions of the city more than they spared religious prejudices. They boldly examined and discussed the laws which still reigned in the state and in the family. They went from city to city, proclaiming new principles, teaching, not precisely indifference to the just and the unjust, but a new justice, less narrow, less exclusive than the old, more humane, more rational, and freed from the formulas of preceding ages. This was a hardy enterprise, which stirred up a tempest of hatred and rancor. They were accused of having neither religion, nor morals, nor patriotism. The truth is that they had not a very well settled doctrine, and thought they had done enough when they had attacked old prejudices. They moved, as Plato says, what before had been immovable. They placed the rule of religious sentiment and that of politics in the human conscience, and not in the customs of ancestors, in immovable tradition. They taught the Greeks that to govern a state it was not enough to appeal to old customs and sacred laws, but that men should be persuaded and their wills should be influenced. For the knowledge of ancient customs they substituted the art of reasoning and speaking,— dialectics and rhetoric. Their adversaries quoted tradition to them, while they, on the other hand, employed eloquence and intellect."

"When reflection had thus been once awakened man no longer wished to believe without giving a reason for his belief, or to be governed without discussing his institutions. The habit of free examination became established in men's homes and in the public squares." Here was the foundation of democracy.

"Socrates, while reproving the abuse which the sophists" (better, certain sophists) "made of the right to doubt, was still of their school. Like them he rejected the empire of tradition and believed that the rules of conduct were graven in the human conscience. He differed from them only in this; he studied conscience religiously, and with a firm desire to find there an obligation to be just and to do good. He ranked truth above custom, and justice above law. He separated morals from religion; before him men never thought of a duty except as a command of the ancient gods. He showed that the principle of duty is in the human mind. In all this, whether he wished it or not, he made war upon the city worship.— The revolution which the sophists commenced, and which Socrates had taken up with more moderation, was not stopped by the death of the old man. Greek

society was enfranchised more and more, daily, from the empire of old beliefs and old institutions."

(These remarks are exceedingly interesting, especially when taken in connection with the same author's study of the primitive organization and thought of the Aryans to which his book is devoted. We cannot understand such movements as went on in the later Greek period unless they are considered in the light of a knowledge of primitive culture.)

2. **Some superficial sophist schools.**— Character of sophist schools, — learning an easy accomplishment. "I will go myself to the thinking shop and get taught." Monroe's Source Book, 68. Conf. also Monroe's Source Book, 67 ff.

3. **The making of an orator.**—"What gymnastic is for the body, philosophy is for the mind. In the one as in the other the pupil learns first the technical rudiments, and then how to combine them. The physical and the mental training will alike improve natural powers. But the master of the palæstra cannot make a great athlete, nor the teacher of philosophy a great speaker." To make a great speaker "three things are needed — capacity, training, and practice; capacity, which includes intellect, voice, and nerve, is the chief requisite; practice however can by itself make a good speaker; training is by far the least important of the three; it may be complete and yet may be rendered useless by the absence of a single quality, nerve. Do not suppose that my claims are modest only when I address you, but larger when I speak to my pupils. In an essay, published when I first began to teach, the excessive pretensions of some teachers are expressly blamed." (Other passages suggest that there are two classes of sophists.)

Varied results.—"The success of the sophists is in fact equal to that of any other class of teachers. Some of their pupils become powerful debaters; others become competent teachers; all become more accomplished members of society, better critics, more prudent advisers. And what proves the training to be scientific is that all bear the stamp of a common method. Those who despise such culture assume that practice, which develops every other faculty, is useless to the intellect; that the human mind can educate the instincts of horses and dogs, but cannot train itself; that tame lions and learned bears are possible, but not instructed men." (Isocrates), Monroe's Source Book, 91, 94, 104, 105.

4. **Isocrates and Quintilian.**— The notes as to Isocrates will indicate a connecting link between Greek education and Quintilian. We can trace the decadence from Quintilian down, in Rome, as we do from Isocrates down, in Greece.

VI

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN PLATO AND ARISTOTLE

Position of Greek theorists in education.— Greek theorists in education have influenced educational thought in other centuries and in other countries more than in their own times and country. They probably had little effect upon the secondary schools of Greece. In fact they had little time to do so, before the purely national character and organization of these schools were broken. Historically they represented a reaction against the extreme individualism of the times, which was a disintegrating force. They tried to devise a scheme of education that might counteract evils and conserve true Greek ideals. From the point of view of the science of education they were the first to analyze the educational process, and they gave us our first books on pedagogy, though it would be too much to call them systematic treatises on the subject. The student of the history and philosophy of education finds these personalities and books of unique interest and value. We need to study them briefly here, not simply because they played so prominent a part in the evolution of Greek educational ideas, but particularly because such a study will give us, from a new view-point, an idea of the main tendencies at work in Greece.

Comparison of two ways of studying education.— Plato's analysis of the educational process is philosophic, and he works largely by philosophic instinct. His mysticism, added to, or rather forming the motive force of his enthusiastic speculations, lands him in the transcendental by a natural process through which it is always delightful to follow him. Aristotle's analysis, on the other hand, is scientific, and his logic gives him a fairly consistent and practical scheme of education, as judged by the views of his time. It is interesting also to note that in his analysis he lays the foundation for the science of educational psychology. We are to ascertain here not all the

details of these writers' views as to education but the contributions they made to the pedagogy of the secondary school. The two appendices to this chapter will give detailed accounts of their plans and also present graphic summaries that may be compared with those in previous chapters.

Common basis.— Both Plato and Aristotle built their theories on a civic idea embodied in an ideal state which they made the foundation of their arguments. Plato conceived two states, a transcendental one in his Republic, and a practical one in his Laws. Aristotle, through a double induction, also conceived a practical state, but one inferior to Plato's.[1] Greece always based her education on a civic idea however. We are concerned with this idea here only because it was now first embodied in a definite science of education, as science was conceived in those days. In each case education was to develop intellectual power and balance suited to leadership and general civic duties.

The curriculum purified.— Both writers took the typical Greek curriculum for adolescents,— gymnastic and music (in the wider sense). In the practical working out of this curriculum, however, Plato, in particular, tried to give a larger idea to studies, as has been indicated. Both writers tried to purify studies of their weaker elements and to bring them back to something of the simplicity of earlier days and to the grace and balance that accorded with their own ideas.

Contributions to educational thought and practice. Development emphasized.— But it is in the direction of principles and method that these writers are most distinctive and suggestive. In their model educational states the two writers anticipated the great general principle that education does not implant, but merely develops,[2] which marks the real dividing line between Occidental and Oriental education.

[1] Plato's state in his Laws comes nearer reality than either of the others, but he allows certain artificialities and limitations that still make it a theoretical state. He recognizes however the impracticability and inimitability of his highest ideals and comes as close as he can to real conditions. Notwithstanding his theory his regulations, including those for education, seem to grow out of a practical realization, from his point of view, of state conditions. His laws are suggested by social needs and are calculated to develop an all-around good man.

[2] Stated fully by Plato; implied by Aristotle.

Harmony and proportion.— Again it is noticeable that they emphasized harmony and proportion of life as one of the guiding principles of education. They made a science of that which before had been a matter of instinct. Harmony and proportion however might be merely external. They could not of themselves produce the stability that Greek genius needed. Greek nature must be steadied by a real search for truth, involving the highest exercise of self-activity.

Not facts, but ideas.— Plato with fine feeling seems to have discovered this truth. He made the goal of education philosophic insight that opened up the inner meaning of harmony. Put simply the principle was this, not facts, but the ideas beneath the facts are the objects of quest in education.

The process of attainment. Dialectic.— The process of attainment was in accord with this great end. It was to be genuinely pedagogical, leading from the concrete and objective to the ideal and philosophic. This was the dialectic process described in the last chapter. This aim, this principle, and this process he brought forward and made the distinguishing features of his work. Put into practice they would take the student into a new world and give him real insight, a distinct and very significant gain. They would affect not only method, but the studies of the curriculum. They involved in the best way the freedom of individual development, and so finally brought into education the idea that best characterized the new epoch. At the same time they were a guaranty against the extravagance of individualism that rises when it is separated from its principle, i. e., they supplied a natural corrective calculated to produce poise and balance for counteracting that natural and excessive mobility of Greek nature that led young men to take sudden flights in unbalanced action and made them self-centered, catching at the advantage of the moment.

An intuition for adolescent motif.— In suggesting this principle and aim in the secondary period Plato showed that he appreciated the status of the adolescent. The search for the great thought beneath forms and facts, the quest of the ideal, inspires the adolescent and stimulates his best effort. Inspiration and appeals to the imagination are wonderful motive forces in secondary school method. Plato thus made a much needed

distinction between elementary and secondary method. Elementary education in his scheme contents itself with simple learning processes. Secondary education gets at fundamental meanings, relations, ideals, in the learning.[3] This is one of Plato's most typical contributions to the principles of education. In the formal times that followed it was obscured; it is now coming into prominence again.

Aristotle takes up the aim from a different view-point and brings in the culture (diagoge) idea, thus introducing the thought of a liberal education as a means toward a higher civic life. Apparently also he makes it an end. But it is fair to assume that he is thinking of educating men to a high and most productive use of the leisure that all freemen had in one degree or another.

The teacher.— The teacher is the best part of method. It is natural that thinkers on education should give special attention in this direction. Plato and Aristotle give some of their best suggestions as to teachers. The integrity of their states required special solicitude here. Plato in particular goes into detail concerning the high character and general excellence of his teachers, who are to be possessed of the fundamental ideas and principles on which his scheme of education is built.

Freedom, not education by the rod.— In pursuing their plan of education both writers insist upon giving the pupil not only freedom, but the right stimulus to take hold of and appreciate and appropriate what is needed in the educational process. In their view the old notion of education by the rod is unworthy of free natures. Yet education was to be compulsory. Aristotle, particularly, is very insistent here. This is, however, a matter of school economy, not of school method. There is all the difference in the world between "compulsory education" and education by compulsion.

"Special training and general ability."— One detail as to method, or rather as to the training value of studies, is interesting to note here, in view of the discussions provoked by the theory of education as adjustment. In treating of arithmetic Plato is particular to make it clear that he believes in the special disciplinary value of the study and that he is firmly convinced

[3] *Plato, Rep., 537.*

that special training gives general ability. This is probably the first formal statement in educational literature of a doctrine that contains a partial truth, but, stated absolutely, is inherently false.

Their chief service to method.— The most important contribution to method that these authors made was their illustration of the meaning and value of dialectic, which they comprehended more fully, and consequently applied further, than their predecessors, whose initial development of this method has been explained in the previous chapter. Thought, experiment, investigation, search for reality, the inspiration of large ideas and relations, all of them keys to adolescent power if shaped rightly so as to fit the adolescent not the adult lock, were idealized. This meant development. This idea of development, as contrasted with imparting knowledge, was the most notable characteristic of their method and put them far beyond their times.

An aristocratic education with limitations.— As to the application of educational privilege, both writers, true to Greek ideas, provide an aristocratic education. But we now for the first time find a reasoned circumscription. Plato develops the more sensible and taking scheme in this particular, making lines of demarcation that are far from rigid. Aristotle is coldly and dogmatically exclusive. Probably both writers, in their attempt to systematize education and to maintain more regular civic principles, are more restrictive than was the practice of the Greeks.

Education of both sexes.— In one way, however, Plato broke away from typical Greek ideas, for in his state of the Laws he provided that girls and boys should have substantially the same education. It would almost seem that he was near the line of universal education.

School administration.— We should note finally that these authors are careful to provide definitely for educational administration. Plato does this rather mystically in his Republic. But the same author in his Laws, and Aristotle in his Politics do it with more definiteness, as a part of state machinery. With "Directors of Education" in the one scheme, and a general "Minister of Education" and a "Minister" for each branch of education, in the other scheme, schoo

interests, instead of being left to private judgment, as had been the way generally in Greece, are to be fully regulated by the state, and to have something of the impressiveness and watchful care that primitive education had shown.

The contributions of these noted educators to secondary education have to do with its spirit rather than with its form. Altogether it is as a beginning of what was to be, rather than as an indication of what was, that we consider their work here.

Summary.— It is perhaps not unfair to say that Greek education, as we saw it in Chapters IV and V, was rather spontaneous than studied. It was an inspiration, an intuition. The Greeks in practice never organized or systematized anything in education. From all that has been said, and from other details given elsewhere,[4] we find that these theorists supplied what was generally neglected. But times and conditions did not provide an opportunity to make their gains general, and the theorists were too much educational recluses to impress themselves in practical application on any wide scale. In fact their plans as a whole were of such a nature that it was impracticable to put them to the test then or later. We are thus left for concrete results about where we were at the end of Chapter V. Succeeding educators however were inspired by their work and applied many of their ideas in the new systems of later centuries.

APPENDIX I

PLATO'S EDUCATIONAL PLANS, AS GIVEN IN HIS REPUBLIC AND LAWS

1. Plato's scheme of education as given in his Republic, Books ii–vii.

Platonic socialism.— The outlines of Plato's ideal state are well known and need not be given in detail here. Suffice it to say that it is highly socialistic, even to the extent of obliterating the family, and that he organizes it in such a way that classes are distributed according to their characteristics, each following plans of thought and action that he believes accord with the intrinsic fitness of the case;[5] he therefore rests secure in the quiet acquiescence of each class in its destiny, and there is no suspicion of rebellion.

[4] See Appendix.

[5] Class lines however are not absolute. Plato, Rep., 413–14.

General principles of Plato's ideal state.— Those who have the highest ideals and show themselves capable of the highest attainments, being discovered by a natural process of elimination, are to be the rulers. After a kind of probationary period of ruling they attain the state of pure contemplation, where thoughts are filled with pure ideals. They are typical men thinking in types, the great archetypes. Philosophers therefore are to rule; hence the state may be called a philosophic state. The next class, really an offshoot of the same class, is that designated as the "guardians" of the state, the "auxiliaries and allies of the principles of the rulers." Both classes, however, are guardians, though one of them in a higher and broader sense than the other.[6] Now it is this general class or double class of citizens for which alone Plato seems to provide education, and each one is to continue the course according to his talent or affinities, some dropping out at one point, some at another, each to serve the state according to his capacity. The education of other classes comes in a natural way, through apprenticeship and otherwise. We are concerned here then only with some details as to the education of this highest class,— its aims and means.

Distinctive features of his course of education.— Though Plato presupposes a Utopian state based on socialistic principles, he cannot break away from the old Greek course of training. But he idealizes it, — making it lead from the concrete and objective to the ideal and philosophic. Crude forms of things, with which one deals in the schools, with him are to lead to typal forms which one sees only in the world of thought or ideas, as he calls it. His ideal is the conservation of the state through philosophic education inducting students into real ideas, and his state is to be served in lower capacities, requiring more or less education, by those who stop by the way in the long and arduous course toward the philosophic goal.

Great principle. Development.— His great principle is dialectic.[7] Through this he attains his final purpose of living in pure ideas or, as we should say, ideals. In a way dialectic, or dialectic life, is his ideal. This dialectic, which is his talisman, is a straightforward analyzing of anything and everything that meets the student, until the real principle or idea of things is reached. The four stages on the way to this supreme process and power,[8] which represent a kind of psychological analysis of method, are, knowledge of shadows, belief, understanding, and science. His education is to lead pupils to this climax of knowledge. It is not however to put certain qualities or certain knowledge into souls, but to develop latent potentialities; for, he says, "certain professors of education must be mistaken in saying that they can put knowledge into the soul which was not there before, like

[6] Do., 376, 473, 487, 535–36; citations 2, 3, 4 (last pages of Appendix).
[7] Citations 1, 4; Rep., 539.
[8] Do., 533–34.

giving eyes to the blind,— whereas our argument shows that the power is already in the soul." [9]

Aim.— From what has been said it is plain that according to Plato the aim of education, briefly stated, is to train for civic purposes a select body of children through a curriculum that each is to continue according to his talent, the highest degree of this education, attained by a few choice souls, being that which gives philosophic insight and the ruling ability that this produces.

Plato's ideal is thus a civic one. Indeed he makes great effort to throw himself into the breach made by the recession of civic ideals before personal ends and aims.

The curriculum.— The means he suggests for producing his ideal are not new. They are, in the first place, the typical Greek agencies, music and gymnastic.[10] Music as usual includes literature, but very limited in amount and carefully defined in quality.[11] Literature is to be simple and to be freed from all matter that would degrade the soul or jeopardize ideals. Therefore Homer must retire from his position of presiding genius of the schools, and much other material must follow him. Strong melodies, Dorian and Phrygian harmonies, meet his approval, and the lyre, the harp, and the pipe are the instruments of his choice. In literature that is exclusively or chiefly poetical, simple narrative or lofty "imitation" is the rule.

In addition to these simple educational forces he finds that arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy are required for his purpose,[12]— geometry of a simple sort, for he finds solid geometry in a very undeveloped state. Finally in higher education, which is entered only by adults of thirty years, dialectic [13] becomes the sum and substance of the curriculum.

Gradation.— This is a bare summary of the curriculum. As these studies are applied to different ages however, some very interesting distinctions, as well as some very suggestive elements of method, come to view. 1. "Calculation, geometry, and all other elements of instruction which are a preparation for dialectic, should be presented to the mind in childhood" and in the form of amusement. There is to be no compulsion, for "a freeman ought to be a freeman in the acquisition of knowledge." [14] This "childhood" would seem to extend to about the age of sixteen or seventeen, and thus to include much of the period of secondary training. 2. Plato provides then for three years of close application to study, though he is rather vague here, as elsewhere, in the matter of details. In all this early period the sciences are taken up without order. 3. But in late adolescence, when the youth has rounded out a score of years, these subjects are "brought together," so that the youth are "able to see the correlation of them to

[9] Do., 518.
[10] Citations 2, 6–8; Rep., 411.
[11] Citations 7, 9; Rep., 386 ff., 411.
[12] Citations 10–12; Rep., 510, 524–25, 526–28.
[13] The fundamental idea in dialectic was to be applied also to adolescent studies.
[14] Rep., 536–7; Citations, 16.

one another and to true being."[15] Herein lies the most important change which Plato introduced into the secondary curriculum. Students are to go beyond form, beyond the ordinary processes, and to find the great thought beneath,—that which binds them to universal thought, to the world of ideas.[16] This was natural inspiration-ground for youth. The ideal appeals to the adolescent. In the two periods therefore the sciences are taken up in two different ways,—ways so different as to make the subjects themselves seem different. Two different conceptions thus guide the curriculum.

But there is also gradation in method. Beginning with play,[17] which Plato, following primal educational instincts, emphasizes in his scheme, method grows gradually to the dialectic stage.

Secondary education indefinite in Republic.— Plato's educational scheme in his Republic is very general, and can satisfy no one who is looking for an organized scheme of education in which details as to age and study are carefully explained. He refers to definite age in the secondary period but once, and this has already been noted. We may, however, make a simple division that he suggests, earlier education, which is to be "a sort of amusement," thus making it easier to discover the child's "natural bent,"[18] and later education, when subjects are taken up more seriously and shown in their relations. This is significant when we consider the psychologies of the two periods. But as a rule we must look in the Republic only for the larger ideas of education and for a minute discussion of the subject of music. We must look elsewhere for light as to grading and organization. This is found in the Laws.

Davidson, in his Aristotle, leads us to think that Plato maps out his course carefully as to ages and subjects in the Republic. He has evidently combined his suggestions in the Republic and the Laws, which is hardly fair. He even makes Plato more precise than he is. Whatever else the Greek philosopher does, he does not decide finally on any hard and fast lines for our secondary period.

2. PLATO'S SCHEME OF EDUCATION AS GIVEN IN BOOK VII OF HIS LAWS, WITH BRIEF REFERENCE TO OTHER BOOKS

Plato's state is here radically different from that of the Republic, as will be seen by the following outline: —

Outline of State in "The Laws."—[19] No communal principles except "common tables." Private families and property.
Men and women on a par. Training of the two sexes similar.

[15] Rep., 537.
[16] For other pedagogical principles see Citations 12; Rep., 526–7. Plato seems to think that special training can give general ability.
[17] Citations 16, 17. [18] Citations 11.
[19] See Plato, Laws, and Jowett's Introduction to his translation of Plato's works, Vol. 4, pp. 8, 9, 17, 142 ff.

No gold or silver money; simply tokens. Care to promote simplicity and an approximation to equality. The money question perhaps influenced by this.

Number of families fixed at 5050, the number evidently being selected for its factoring power.

Land allotted to citizens, each receiving a double lot, one near and one remote; two residences. "Let the several possessors feel that their particular lots belong to the whole city." Lots to be equalized in value; each family has at least one lot, and no family more than four; hence bounds of wealth are fixed within narrow limits. Strict penalties for overstepping. Gods have twelve lots, one each.

On basis of this limited difference in wealth four classes are formed. "Offices, contributions, and distributions are proportioned to the value of each person's wealth, and not solely to the virtue of his ancestors or himself, nor yet to the strength and beauty of his person, but to the measure of his wealth or poverty; and so by a law of inequality, which will be in proportion to his wealth, he will receive honors and offices as equally as possible, and there will be no quarrels or disputes."

Electors.— Legislators.— Magistrates, elected by vote or lot.— Courts (graded); judges appointed by magistrates.— General and local assemblies of people also serve judicially, the former as the highest Court of Appeals. Council of 360, to have general supervision of state.

A "Nocturnal Council" composed of old men and young men who attain the highest education. The old men form the deliberative body. "The younger guardians . . . are chosen for their natural gifts and placed in the head of the state, having their souls all full of eyes, with which they look around the whole city. They keep watch, and hand over their perceptions to the memory, and inform the elders of all that happens in the city; and those whom we compared to the mind, because they have many wise thoughts, that is to say the old men, take counsel, and, making use of the younger men as their ministers and advising with them, in this way both together preserve the whole state." . . .

Ministers of Music and Gymnastic, and a Minister of Education are chosen.

The constitution is to be stable. No change. Laws irreversible.

All freemen to be educated.

Position of education in the scheme.— In developing this state Plato naturally makes education a part of statecraft, as in the Republic, but his scheme of education is different from the one just noticed, and it is more clearly outlined. He makes it, even to details, the subject of state law. It has reference also to the practical (as far as Plato can bring himself to the practical), rather than to the transcendental ideal exemplified in the Republic. For this reason one ought not to confound the two schemes or amalgamate them. Gleanings from the Laws will give us the outlines of his secondary education, as he conceived it at a later date than that of his earlier treatise, and will enable us to make some interesting comparisons.

Aims.— "The sum of education," he says, "is right training in the

nursery. The soul of the child in his play should be trained to that sort of excellence in which, when he grows up to manhood, he will have to be perfected." And he defines his idea of education in such words as these: "For we are not speaking of education in this sense of the word (education for a trade), but of that other education in virtue, from youth upwards, which makes a man eagerly pursue the ideal perfection of citizenship and teaches him how rightly to rule and how to obey. This is the only training which, upon our view, would be characterized as education. That other sort of training which aims at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice is mean and illiberal and is not worthy to be called education at all." Another remark brings out the typical Greek dualism, which he now proceeds to apply:—"Am I not right in maintaining that a good education is that which tends most to the improvement of mind and body?" [20]

Periods of education.— The first period of education for which he prescribes is that embraced in the first three years of life. For this period he emphasizes exercise and a careful guarding from fear and sorrow. "If during these three years every possible care were taken that our nursling should have as little of sorrow and fear, and, in general, of pain, as was possible, might we not expect at this age to make his soul more gentle and cheerful?" [21]

From three to six is the period for sport.[22] "Children at that age have certain natural modes of amusement which they find out for themselves when they meet." [23] This is also the time "to get rid of self-will in him, punishing him, not so as to disgrace him." At six comes the separation of the sexes.[23] "Now they must begin to learn, the boys going to teachers of horsemanship and the use of the bow, the javelin, and the sling; and, if they do not object, let the women go too to learn, if not to practice; above all they ought to know the use of arms, for these are matters which are almost entirely misunderstood at present." [23] In this connection he advocates ambidexterity. All this care is to be devoted to physical exercise during these early years, "that all may be sound, hand and foot, and may not spoil the gift of nature by bad habits, in so far as this can be avoided." [23]

The curriculum.— He now reminds us again that education has two branches, one of gymnastic, which is concerned with the body,[24] and the other of music, which is designed for the improvement of the soul. He includes both dancing and wrestling in the former and advises "suitable imitations of war in our dances."

Again, he says: "It will be right also for boys, until such time as they

[20] Laws, 643–44, 788.
[21] Do., 789–92.
[22] Citations 13, 14; Laws, 793–94. One's future work is to be recognized in plays; so these years are formative.
[23] Do., 794–97.
[24] Do., 795 f.; Citations 15.

go to war, to make processions and supplications to the gods, in goodly array, armed and on horseback, faster and slower in their dances and marches, offering up prayers to the gods, and also engaging in contests and preludes of contests, if at all, with those objects. For these sorts of exercise and no others, are useful both in peace and war and are beneficial both to states and to private houses. But other labors and sports and excessive training of the body are unworthy of freemen." [25]

Music.— As to plays, music, and song, he gives very definite limitations. He decides for that which is substantial, established, and regular, the good old fashions as opposed to constant change, and believes such things have close relations with the stability of states.[26]

Physical training.— "Next follow the buildings for gymnasia and schools open to all; these are to be in three places. In the midst of the city, and outside the city, and in the surrounding country there shall be schools for horse exercise, and open spaces also in three places arranged with a view to archery and throwing of missiles, at which young men may learn and practice. . . . In these schools let there be dwellings for teachers, who shall be brought from foreign parts by pay, and let them teach the frequenters of the school the art of war and the art of music." [27]

Letters.— Coming to the "letters" side of musical training he tells us that "a fair time for a boy of ten years old to spend in letters is three years."

Secondary education begins.— "At thirteen years he should begin to handle the lyre and he may continue at this another three years, neither more nor less, and whether his father or himself like or dislike the study, he is not to be allowed to spend more or less time in learning music than the law allows." As to the extent of training in reading and writing he does not leave us in doubt. "They ought to be occupied with their letters until they are able to read and write; but the acquisition of perfect beauty or quickness in writing, if nature has not stimulated them to acquire these accomplishments in the given number of years, they should be let alone."

Selection of material.— On the literary side he follows consistently his idea of conservatism, inclining to a careful sifting according to principles he has laid down. This is in striking contrast with some of the customs of the day that he vividly depicts in these words: — "We have a great many poets writing in hexameter, trimeter, and all sorts of measures, some who are serious, others who aim only at raising a laugh, in which the aforesaid myriads declare that the youth

[25] Laws, 795–6.
[26] Citations 14; Laws, 797 ff.
[27] Citations 15; Laws, 804–5. Both boys and girls are to be taught, and taught alike.

who are rightly educated should be brought up and saturated; they should be constantly hearing them read at recitations, and learning them, getting off whole parts by heart, while others select choice passages and long speeches, and make compendiums of them, saying that these shall be committed to memory, and that in this way a man is to be made good and wise by varied experience and learning." [28]

Arithmetic and geometry.— Finally the growing citizen must study "calculation in arithmetic," [29] the measurement of length, surface and depth (geometry), and that which "has to do with the revolution of the stars in relation to one another." But it is not necessary to make a technical and extended study of these things, for he says, "not every one has need to toil through all these things in a strictly scientific manner, but only a few, and who they are to be we will hereafter indicate." But "all freemen should, I conceive, learn as much of these various disciplines as every child in Egypt is taught when he learns his alphabet," by way of "pleasure and amusement,"— that is, each one is to gain a simple and elementary knowledge of these arts.[30]

Compulsory education.— This education is to be compulsory, at least part of it, and we may assume that we are to apply to the whole course of ordinary education the following words used in speaking of the "gymnasia and schools open to all" that were spoken of above: —

> "Let them teach the frequenters of the school the art of war and the art of music; and they shall come not only if their parents please, but if they do not please; and if their education is neglected, there shall be a compulsory education of all and sundry, as the saying is, as far as this is possible, and the pupils shall be regarded as belonging to the state rather than their parents."

Education for both sexes.— Both sexes are included in this plan, for he continues, "my law would apply to females as well as males, and they shall both go through the same exercises. I have no sort of fear of saying that gymnastic and horsemanship are as suitable to women as men." And again a little farther on he says, "nor will any one deny that women ought to share as far as possible in education and in other ways with men." [31]

Education a serious and strenuous matter.— Studentship is to be a strenuous matter: —"When the day breaks the time has arrived for

[28] Do., 810–11.

[29] Citations 10, 12; Laws, 747, 817–18. Arithmetic is a supreme instrument of education.

[30] Do., 817 ff. Plato hints at higher studies, but gives no details or information about them, unless we are to interpret some of his words as referring to a little advanced geometry and astronomy. See Laws, 818 ff., 968. The latter reference implies that members of the "Nocturnal Council" are to have a special and higher education, apparently dialectic.

[31] Do., 795, 804–5.

youth to go to the schoolmasters." "There ought to be no by-work which interferes with the due exercise and nourishment of the body, or the attainments and habits of the soul. Night and day are not long enough for the accomplishment of their perfection and consummation; and to this end all freemen ought to arrange the time of their employment during the whole course of the twenty-four hours, from morning to evening and from evening to morning of the next sunrise. . . . Much sleep is not required by nature either for our souls or bodies or for the actions in which they are concerned; . . . but he of us who has the greatest regard for life and reason keeps awake as long as he can, reserving only so much time for sleep as is expedient for health, and much sleep is not required if the habit of not sleeping be formed." [32]

Administration.— It remains to say a word as to the state machinery for superintending educational matters. The Nocturnal Council (described in the outline of the state given on page 82), he tells us in Book XII, is "associated with us in our whole scheme of education." Again, "it will be proper," he says, "to appoint ministers of music and gymnastic, two of each kind, one whose business will be education, and the other for the superintendence of contests. In speaking of education the law means to speak of those who have the care of order and instruction in gymnasia and schools and of the going to school and lodging of boys and girls; and in speaking of contests, the law refers to the judges of gymnastic and music." Then there is to be a "minister of the education of youth, male and female; he too will rule according to law, being a single magistrate of fifty years old at least; the father of children lawfully begotten,[33] of both sexes, or of one at any rate. He who is elected and he who is the elector should consider that of all great offices of state this is the greatest; for the first shoot of any plant rightly tending to the perfection of its own nature has the greatest effect on its maturity, and this is true also of men. Man, we say, is a tame and civilized animal; nevertheless he requires proper instruction and a fortunate nature, and then of all animals he becomes the most divine and most civilized; but if he be insufficiently or ill-educated, he is the savagest of earthly creatures. Wherefore the legislator ought not to allow the education of children to become a secondary or accidental matter." [34]

These are good words with which to close the account of the education of the Laws. Plato is in many ways more interesting here than in the Republic. He comes nearer this world, nearer the practical, and he gives more detail. But there is a certain ideal nature, and a certain inspiration in the Republic which also attract us.

A brief comparative summary must close this section: —

[32] Do., 807–8.

[33] To-day we put a premium upon the childless. Plato showed the greater wisdom.

[34] Do. 764–66.

REPUBLIC	LAWS
Aim: — To train conservators of the state. Mind chiefly on "supersensuous man." Philosophical insight.	Aim: — To train a good man, perfectly ruling and ruled, liberally educated, not educated for a trade.
Curriculum (general): — Gymnastic and music (words, harmonies, literature).	Curriculum (general): — Gymnastic and music: — 1 to 3, — exercise; special excitement, fear, sorrow avoided. 3 to 6, — discipline, sport, games (carefully regulated, old). 6. Separation of sexes. Learning begins.
Secondary: — "Letters," music. Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy: — 1, elementary work, uncorrelated; 2, at 20, correlated work; ideal element prominent.	Secondary (partly elementary): — Gymnastic. Reading, writing, literature. Music. (Boy of 10 takes 3 yrs. for letters, then 3 yrs. for lyre.) Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy. No age assigned. In all this curriculum, elementary knowledge, not scholarship.
Higher education, — dialectics. (For those of largest capacity.)	Higher education. — dialectics. (For select number.)
Method (general and special: — Teachers of high quality. Early education an amusement. No compulsion. The child a "freeman in acquisition. In regular education steady devotion is required. Sleep and exercise unpropitious to learning. Education a development. Leads finally to ideas beneath forms, and produces harmony. Studies not an agglomeration of facts, but organized ideas. Special training may give general ability. Education for "Guardians" only, men only.	Method: — Early education an amusement. No compulsion in early years, but strict compulsion later. Incessant and vigorous work carefully supervised. Practical ideas of things. Education measured by time rather than amount. Strict limitation of years in education. Education for all freemen, both men and women.

State organization: —
"Guardians" and Dialecticians.
Philosophers rulers.

State organization: —
Nocturnal Council.
Legislators.
Minister of education.
Minister of music.
Minister of gymnastic.
Education thus to be thoroughly organized, not left to accident or private management at all.

CITATIONS

1. **Nature of education.**—"And surely you would not have the children of your ideal state, whom you are nurturing and educating, if the ideal ever becomes a reality, you would not allow the future rulers to be like posts, having no reason in them, and yet to be set in authority over the highest matters? Certainly not. Then you will enact that they shall have such an education as will enable them to attain the highest skill in asking and answering questions? Yes, he said, I will, with your help. Dialectic then, as you will agree, is the coping-stone of the sciences and is placed over them; no other can be placed higher; the nature of knowledge can go no further. I agree, he said."— Rep., 534.

2. **Qualities of leaders.**—"Then he who is to be a really good and noble guardian of the state will require to unite in himself philosophy and spirit and swiftness and strength? Undoubtedly. Then we have found the desired natures; and now that we have found them, how are they to be reared and educated? . . . Can we find a better than the old-fashioned sort? And this has two divisions, gymnastic for the body, and music for the soul."— Plato, Rep., 376.[35]

3. **General qualities needed in those who are to be most highly educated.**— Qualities necessary for those who receive the highest education: —"Preference given to the surest and the bravest, and, if possible, to the fairest; and, having noble and manly tempers, they should also have the natural gifts which accord with their education" (keenness and ready powers of acquisition, a good memory, power of enduring fatigue, solidity, love of labor in any line, whole-hearted industry, love of truth, temperance, courage, magnanimity, soundness of limb and mind). Rep., 535–6. See also 487.

4. "Until then philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy and political power and greatness meet in one, and those commoner natures who follow either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never cease from ill — nor the human race, as I believe — and then only will this our state have a possibility of life and behold the light of day."— Rep., 473.

[35] References are to Jowett's translation.

5. **Method and tests.**— Observation of future guardians from youth upwards; deeds to be performed; toils, pains, and conflicts to be prescribed; pupils to be tried by enchantments; to be tested more thoroughly than gold is tested in the fire, "to discover whether they are armed against all enchantments and of a noble bearing always, good guardians of themselves and of the music which they have learned, and whether they retain under all circumstances a rhythmical and harmonious nature such as will be most serviceable to the man himself and to the state. And he who at every age, as boy and youth and in mature life, has come out of the trial victorious and pure shall be appointed a ruler and guardian of the state; he shall be honored in life and death."— Rep., 413–14.

6. **Both sexes to be educated.**—"Then women must be taught music and gymnastic and the art of war, which they must practice like men? I suppose that is the inference."— Rep., 452.

7. **Content of curriculum.**—"But is our superintendence to go no further, and are the poets only to be required by us to impress a good moral on their poems as a condition of writing poetry in our state? Or is the same control to be exercised over other artists, and are they also to be prohibited from exhibiting the opposite forms of vice and intemperance and meanness and indecency in sculpture and building and other decorative arts; and is he who does not conform to this rule of ours to be prohibited from practicing his art in our state, lest the taste of our citizen be corrupted by him? . . . Let our artists rather be those who are gifted to discern the true nature of beauty and grace; then will our youth dwell in a land of health, amid fair sights and sounds, and beauty, the influence of fair works, will meet the sense like a breeze and insensibly draw the soul even in childhood into harmony with the beauty of reason."

Results to be aimed at.—"Is not this, I said, the reason, Glaucon, why musical training is so powerful, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the secret places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten, bearing grace in their movements, and making the soul graceful of him who is rightly educated, or ungraceful if ill-educated; and also because he who has received this true education of the inner being will most shrewdly perceive omissions or faults in art and nature, and with a true taste, while he praises and rejoices over and receives into his soul the good, and becomes noble and good, he will justly blame and hate the bad now in the days of his youth, even before he is able to know the reason of the thing; and when reason comes he will recognize and salute her as a friend with whom his education has made him long familiar."

"I have no hesitation in saying that neither we nor our guardians whom we have to educate can ever become musical until we know the essential forms, temperance, courage, liberality, magnificence, as well as the cognate and contrary forms in all their combinations, and can recognize them and their images wherever they are found, not slighting

them either in small things or great, but believing them all to be within the sphere of one art and study."— Rep., 401, 402.

8. **Relation of body and mind.**—"Now my belief is . . . not that the good body improves the soul, but that the good soul improves the body. . . . Then if we have educated the mind, the minuter care of the body may properly be committed to the mind, and we need only indicate general principles for brevity's sake." (He goes on to speak of the necessity of abstinence from intoxication, and other matters. He disparages athletic training, and says his guardians must have a finer sort of training.)— Rep., 403–4. See also 410, 411.

9. **Habits to be avoided. Athletic training disparaged.**— Danger of innovations in music and gymnastic. "This is what Damon tells me, and I can quite believe him; he says that when modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them."— Rep., 424.

10. **Arithmetic "above all."**—"No single instrument of youthful education has such mighty power, both as regards domestic economy and politics and in the arts, as the study of arithmetic. Above all arithmetic stirs up him who is by nature sleepy and dull, and makes him quick to learn, retentive, shrewd, and, aided by art divine, he makes progress quite beyond his natural powers. All these, if only the legislator by laws and institutions can banish meanness and covetousness from the souls of the disciples and enable them to profit by them, will be excellent and suitable instruments of education. But if he cannot do this, he will intentionally create in them, instead of wisdom, the habit of craft."— Laws, 747.

11. **Geometry.**—"And next shall we inquire whether the kindred science also concerns us? You mean geometry? Yes. Certainly, he said; that part of geometry which relates to war is clearly our concern. Yes, I said, but for that purpose a very little of either geometry or calculation will be enough; the question is rather of the higher and greater part of geometry, whether that tends towards the great end, I mean towards the vision of the idea of the good. . . . True, he said. Then if geometry compels us to view essence, it concerns us; if generation only, it does not concern us."— Rep., 526.

Ultimate ends and aim.—"And do you not know also that, although they use and reason about the visible forms, they are thinking not of these, but of the ideals which they resemble; not of the figures which they draw, but of the absolute square and the absolute diameter, and so on; . . . they are really seeking for the things themselves, which can only be seen with the eyes of the mind? That is true."— Rep., 510.

12. **Value of special training for general ability.**—"Those who have a natural talent for calculation are generally quick in every other kind of knowledge; and even the dull, if they have had an arithmetical training, gain in quickness, if not in any other way." "And in all departments of study, as experience proves, any one who has studied geometry is infinitely quicker of apprehension."— Rep., 526–7.

13. **Play in education.**—"According to my view he who would be good at anything must practice that thing from his youth upwards, both in sport and earnest, in the particular way which the work requires; for example, he who is to be a good builder should play at building children's houses; and he who is to be a good husbandman, at tilling the ground; those who have the care of their education should provide them when young with mimic tools. And they should learn beforehand the knowledge which they will afterwards require for their art. For example, the future carpenter should learn to measure or apply the line in play; and the future warrior should learn riding or some other exercise for amusement, and the teacher should endeavor to direct the children's inclinations and pleasures by the help of amusements to their final aim in life."—Laws, 643.

(Have we here the germs of "gifts and occupations"?)

14. **Stability in play related to stability of institutions.**—"I say that in states generally no one has observed that the plays of childhood have a great deal to do with the permanence or want of permanence in legislation. For when plays are ordered with a view to children having the same plays and amusing themselves after the same manner, and finding delight in the same playthings, the more solemn institutions of the state are allowed to remain undisturbed; whereas, if sports are disturbed and innovations are made in them and they constantly change and the young never speak of their having the same likings or the same established notions of good and bad taste, either in the bearing of their bodies or in their dress, but he who devises something new and out-of-the-way in figures and colors and the like is held in special honor, we may truly say that this is the greatest injury which can happen in a state; for he who changes the sports is secretly changing the manners of the young and making the old to be dishonored among them and the new to be honored."—Laws, 797.

15. **State teachers.**—"Of all these things (dancing, gymnastic movements, military exercises) there ought to be public teachers receiving pay from the state, and their pupils should be the men and boys of the state and also the girls and women, who are to know all these things."—Laws, 813.

16. **Freedom, not compulsion.**—"And therefore calculation and geometry and all other elements of instruction, which are a preparation for dialectic, should be presented to the mind in childhood, not however under any notion of forcing them. . . . A freeman ought to be a freeman in the acquisition of knowledge. Bodily exercise when compulsory does no harm; but knowledge which is acquired under compulsion has no hold on the mind. . . . Do not use compulsion, but let early education be a sort of amusement; that will better enable you to find out the natural bent."—Rep., 536–7.

17. "And the education must begin with plays. The spirit of law must be imparted to them in music."—Rep., 425.

APPENDIX II

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS

Aristotle's state.— Aristotle's state is the basis of his educational scheme. His "politics" and his psychology make a broad foundation for his pedagogy. The state, as he represents it, is the result of a wide induction on his part,— in fact the result of a double induction. From this point of view it may be called a generalized state. From his careful analysis of the individual, who is to give life and reality to his state, it may, like Plato's state, be called a psychologic state. The following outline will indicate some of its main features: —

ARISTOTLE'S PSYCHOLOGIC STATE.— POLITICS, CHIEFLY BOOK VII

Outline.—

Moderate population; all citizens should know each other.

Territory large enough to be "all-producing," and enable the inhabitants to live temperately and liberally in the enjoyment of leisure.

State to be well-located for defense and other purposes. Various topographical details discussed.

State to be "self-sufficing" in regard to groups or classes of inhabitants. Hence a variety of groups, though under this general limitation: —"Conditions of a composite whole are not necessarily organic parts of it."

Two general groups: —

A. Governing group: — Citizens.— 1. Elders,– councilors (also priests), with legislative and deliberative power. 2. Younger men,– warriors, with executive power. Public tables provided for this group, by classes. Land allotted by half socialistic scheme; two portions for each citizen, one for public use (religion and public tables), one for private use. Latter divided into two lots, one near city, one on frontier. Land preferably tilled by slaves, some public, some private. Liberty to be held out as a reward for service. Citizens not to engage in any form of productive industry,— not to do anything "illiberal."

Public education provided for Group A under charge of *Directors of Education.*

B. Governed group: — Artisans, husbandmen, etc.; non-citizens, no land, not educated by state; receive merely education of a trade.

Various offices ministering to different needs of the body politic.

Women not educated equally with men. Probably to have domestic education only.

Criticism of his state.— Aristotle thus aims at the ideal, like Plato. He does not however reach the transcendental. Notwithstanding his

power of generalization he recommends a state organization which violates both nature and science. His limitations and his arrangement of classes prevent him from realizing the highest ideal. As Davidson says, his ideal is a static one.

Aristotle thus has in view in his educational plans only a fraction of the population, the class of citizens or "rulers."[36] He arbitrarily excludes all who engage in professional, mechanical, or agricultural pursuits. This is fatal to his state. It does not, however, vitiate his educational laws and principles as far as they go, though it limits their application and leaves noticeable gaps in educational theory and practice. Another limitation appears in the fact that he makes no provision for women's education outside the family.

This brings us to an analysis of Aristotle's educational scheme, which will give various interesting details and show the distinguishing characteristics of his pedagogy.

Aim.— Aristotle's aim is to develop his exclusive individual on all sides for what he calls "leisure," or better for a cultured life as opposed to a life of business. He says, "I must repeat once again, the first principle of all action is leisure (diagoge)."[37] The end is a very inclusive one as seen in his remark, "education should not be exclusively directed to this (the physical), or any other single end."[38] He finds the fundamental principle in man and provides for developing it. On the psychological side this is the expression of self-activity, the "self-determination" of the individual. The outcome is to be *civic virtue.*

Education to be public,— the same for all.— As to uniformity in the application of educational principles and the working out of educational ends, "since the whole city has one end, it is manifest that education should be one and the same for all, and that it should be public and not private,— not as at present when every one looks after his own children separately and gives them separate instruction of the sort which he thinks best; the training in things which are of common interest should be the same for all. Neither must we suppose that any one of the citizens belongs to himself, for they all belong to the

[36] See outline of state given above.

[37] Pol., VII, 14: 12–18; 22; 15: 1–6; VIII, 3: 2, 6.

This quotation is interesting:— "Since the end of individuals and of the state is the same, the end of the best man and the best state must also be the same. It is therefore evident that there ought to exist in both of them the virtues of leisure; for peace, as has often been repeated, is the end of war, and leisure of toil. But leisure and cultivation may be promoted not only by those virtues which are practiced in leisure, but also by some of those which are useful in business. For many necessaries of life have to be supplied before we can have leisure. Therefore a city must be temperate and brave and able to endure."

[38] Pol., VIII, 4: 2.

state and are each of them a part of the state, and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole." [39]

Aristotle analyzes his individual as follows: —

Educational psychology.—"There are three things which make men good and virtuous; these are nature, habit, and reason. . . . Nature, habit and reason must be in harmony with one another." And again, "Now the soul of man is divided into two parts, one of which has reason in itself and the other, not having reason in itself, is able to obey reason. And we call a man good because he has the virtues of these two parts. In which of them the end is likely to be found is no matter of doubt to those who adopt our division, for in the world both of nature and of art the inferior always exists for the sake of the better or superior, and the better or superior is that which has reason.[40] The reason too in our ordinary way of speaking is divided into two parts, for there is a practical and a speculative reason, and there must be a corresponding division of actions; the actions of the naturally better principle are to be preferred by those who have it in their power to attain to both or to all, for that is always to every one the most eligible which is the highest attainable by him." [41]

With these general remarks as to ends and organization, we come to some specifications as to means and order of training. If we expect a complete and detailed account of a system of education calculated to carry out the author's principles, we shall be disappointed. Aristotle is very incomplete and fragmentary here. Such a symmetrical scheme as Davidson guesses at, and presents as rather more than a guess, may or may not have been in his mind. He appears not to have worked his plans out to that extent. But he presents enough to be suggestive and to give a general idea of his pedagogical thought.

Order of development.— And first as to the order of development. Aristotle is very emphatic here. He says distinctly,[42] "the care of the body ought to precede that of the soul and the training of the appetitive part should follow; none the less our care of it should be for the sake of the reason, and our care of the body for the sake of the soul." And he impresses it again in these words, "Now it is clear that in education habit must go before reason, and the body before the mind." [43]

Periods of education.— From another point of view, order of development may be described by means of the periods into which he divides the life of the child. He makes six clearly marked divisions, 1°, the pre-natal period; 2°, infancy; 3°, to five years; 4°, five to seven; 5°, seven to puberty; 6°, puberty to twenty-one.[44] We should be fortunate indeed if he were as explicit in describing the training suitable for these different periods as he is in marking out the periods

[39] Do., VIII, 1: 1–4.
[40] Do., VII, 14: 9–10. See also 13: 10–12.
[41] Do., VII, 14: 10–11.
[42] Do., VII, 15: 10.
[43] Do., VIII, 3: 13. See VII, 13: 13 and VII, 15: 1–10.
[44] Do., VII, 17.

themselves, but we find little said except for the early periods, and our study calls for something on the secondary period particularly; even here however something useful is gained, if we use our opportunity.

First three periods.— For the first period he prescribes special conditions for procreation calculated to secure worthy offspring. For the second and third he merely makes suggestions as to the diet and physical conditions best calculated to produce a proper citizen. As to this second period he says, "No demand should be made upon the child for study or labor, lest its growth be impeded; and there should be sufficient motion to prevent the limbs from being inactive. This can be secured in part by amusement, but the amusement should not be vulgar or tiring or riotous. The directors of education, as they are termed, should be careful what tales or stories the children hear; for the sports of children are designed to prepare the way for the business of later life, and should be for the most part imitations of the occupations which they will hereafter pursue in earnest." [45]

Crying.— In these words and in others in the same chapter he shows commendable solicitude for the environment of the child,[46] that it shall be made clean and wholesome. Again, he has a word for the crying of the period, believing that "those are wrong who in the Laws attempt to check the loud crying and screaming of children, for these contribute toward their growth and in a manner exercise their bodies. Straining the voice has an effect similar to that produced by the retention of the breath in violent exertions." [47]

Fourth and fifth periods. Formal education through "liberal" studies only.— In the fourth period "they must look on at the pursuits which they are hereafter to learn." The fifth period presumably is intended to be devoted to the more formal side of education. And here it should be noted that Aristotle lays great stress upon liberal as opposed to illiberal studies. "There can be no doubt," he says, "that children should be taught those useful things which are really necessary, but not all things; for occupations are divided into liberal and illiberal and to young children should be imparted only such kinds of knowledge as will be useful to them without vulgarizing them. And any occupation or art or science which makes the body or the soul or the mind of the freeman less fit for the practice or exercise of virtue is vulgar; wherefore we call those arts vulgar which tend to deform the body, and likewise all paid employments, for they absorb and degrade the mind."

Not too detailed and technical training.—"There are also some liberal arts quite proper for a freeman to acquire, but only in a certain degree, and if he attend to them too closely, in order to attain perfection in them, the same evil effects will follow. The object also which a man sets before him makes a great difference; if he

[45] Do., VII, 17:4–5.
[46] Do., VII, 17:7–9.
[47] Do., VII, 17:6.

does or learns anything for his own sake or for the sake of his friends or with a view to excellence, the action will not appear illiberal; but if done for the sake of others the very same action will be thought menial and servile." [48]

That is, anything which smacks of profession or trade is illiberal. Aristotle had the genuine Greek thought as to such things. Free-booting was gentlemanly beside them.

The curriculum. Four branches.— Regarding the actual studies, he says,[49]

"The received subjects of instruction are partly of a liberal and partly of an illiberal character. The customary branches of education are in number four; they are (1) reading and writing, (2) gymnastic exercises (3), music, to which is sometimes added (4) drawing. Of these, reading, writing, and drawing are regarded as useful for the purposes of life in a variety of ways, and gymnastic exercises are thought to infuse courage. Concerning music a doubt may be raised; in our own day most men cultivate it for the sake of pleasure, but originally it was included in education, because nature herself, as has been often said, requires that we should be able not only to work well, but to use leisure well."

Physical education not to include athletics.— Most of the remaining portion,[50] of the book is devoted to two of these subjects, gymnastics and music. Both are to be of the liberalizing type. Educational gymnastics, for example, do not include athletics.[51] "Of those states which in our own day seem to take the greatest care of children some aim at producing in them an athletic habit, but they only injure their forms and stunt their growth." [52] And again, "It is an admitted principle that gymnastic exercises should be employed in education and that for children they should be of a lighter kind, avoiding severe regimen or painful toil lest the growth of the body be impaired. The evil of excessive training in early years is strikingly proved by the example of the Olympic victors; for not more than two or three of them have gained a prize as boys and as men; their early training and severe gymnastic exercises exhausted their constitutions." [53]

The kind of "music" prescribed.— Music is with Aristotle, as with the Greeks of all ages, a prime educational force.[54] It may be reckoned under education, amusement, and intellectual enjoyment, he says. "In addition to the common pleasure, felt and shared by all (for the pleasure given by music is natural and therefore adapted to all ages and natures), may it not have also some influence over

[48] Do., VIII, 2:3-6; Conf. Cicero, De Of., 1:42.
[49] Do., VIII, 2:6-3; 12, 5:4.
[50] Do., VIII, 3 ff.
[51] Do., VIII, 4:1-3; 5-7.
[52] Do., VIII, 4:1.
[53] Do., VIII, 4:7, 8.
[54] Do., VIII, 3:8, 9. See also VIII, 5.

the character and the soul? It must have such an influence, if characters are affected by it. And that they are so affected is proved by the power which the songs of Olympus and many others exercise, for beyond question they inspire enthusiasm, and enthusiasm is an emotion of the ethical part of the soul." [55]

As to the kind of music, he lays down the following principles: —

"Thus then we reject the professional instruments and also the professional mode of education in music,— and by professional we mean that which is adopted in contests, for in this the performer practices the art not for the sake of his own improvement but in order to give pleasure, and that of a vulgar sort, to his hearers. For this reason the execution of such music is not the part of a freeman, but of a paid performer, and the result is that the performers are vulgarized, for the end at which they aim is bad. The vulgarity of the spectator tends to lower the character of the music and therefore of the performers; they look to him,— he makes them what they are and fashions even their bodies by the movements which he expects them to exhibit." [56]

"But for the purposes of education, as I have already said, those modes and melodies should be employed which are ethical, such as the Dorian, though we may include any others which are approved by philosophers who have had a musical education." [57]

Sixth period— For the last period of education he makes only these general suggestions: —

"When boyhood is over three years should be spent in other studies; the period of life which follows may then be devoted to hard exercise and strict regimen. Men ought not to labor at the same time with their minds and with their bodies; for the two kinds of labor are opposed to one another; the labor of the body impedes the mind, and the labor of the mind the body." [58]

It is to be greatly regretted that he has not given more on this period. We may assume that he refers here to the adolescent life from 12 to 21, but this is merely a plausible conjecture. Again we may reasonably assume that the studies are the typical ones that Greece assigned to this period,— science, perhaps advanced work in literature (though both Plato and Aristotle are very strict in defining the limits of literature), and dialectics. But how much science, whether the double course of the Republic or the more elementary course of the Laws, we are not told. We may believe, however, as the end of education lay in the contemplation of pure reason, in "theoria," and in culture rather than practical life, that he inclined more to the idea of the Republic than to that of the Laws.

End in view.— It is certainly interesting to find him making a special feature of adolescence and prescribing for it a special regimen. His dis-

[55] Do., VIII, 5: 14–16. See also VIII, 6: 8.
[56] Do., VIII, 6: 15–16.
[57] Do., VIII, 7: 8.
[58] Do., VIII, 4: 9.

tribution of intellectual work and physical training is also significant.[59] But while his view seems sound, considering his premises, we should substitute for his plan here a pedagogical combination of the mental and physical.

The individual and the state.— In Aristotle's state the individual is still the center. His scheme thus bears the stamp of the period. But his educational plan, which is more systematic, more purposeful, and far better organized than those of his day, would relieve the danger of individualism. He provides for developing physical and psychical powers so as to make a balanced individual, a man of poise, able to live by reason. Hence the state would never be distraught by the unleashing of undisciplined forces in his educated circle. In this way his scheme was a corrective. It would have been a larger one, if he had enlarged the scope of its application. Outside the narrow world for which he planned this education dangers still stalked in all their native power.

To sum up in the form of a scheme the educational details of the Politics we have the following outline: —

Education of a moiety of the male population. No provision for women.

State Education.

Aims: — Development of the whole man for culture and for civic life. Body training before mental training.

1st period,– prenatal period,– best conditions for procreation.

2nd period,– infancy,– careful diet; exercise; allow to cry.

3rd period,– to 5,– suitable exercise; no demand for study or labor; special care to have wholesome environment. Sports preparatory for life.

4th period,– 5 to 7,– they are to look on pursuits they are hereafter to learn.

5th period,– 7 to puberty,– study: – reading, writing, music, drawing, gymnastics (not severe). Athletics discountenanced. Studies "liberal," as opposed to "illiberal."

6th period,– puberty to 21,– 1. "other studies," perhaps the basis of the later trivium and quadrivium; 2. severer physical training.

[59] Do., VIII, 4:9; 5:4.

VII

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ROME — EARLY PERIOD

Differences in race between Romans and Greeks.— A psychological analysis of the Greeks and Romans reveals striking differences between them. Characteristics differ not merely in proportion, but in kind. The once reputed oneness of race breaks down even at a cursory glance. Some of the contrasts between the two peoples are brought out by the following comparison in which various characteristics are summarized.

Contrasts in Greek and Roman Characters.[1]

Greeks[2]	*Romans*
1. Sophrosyne (temperantia). Arete (virtus), "courage, love of country" (spontaneous but not deep). Eukosima (grace, esthetic expression in all lines). Proportion, harmonious development of physical and mental elements.	1. Virtus (fortitude, etc.). Prudentia. Justitia. Temperantia. Constantia. Honestas. Gravitas. Prosaic and practical ideas. Energy, governing power, intense personality, conscious worth; stronger elements of character prominent.
2. "Innate love of freedom and independence" (free personality). Self assertion. Development for individual, primary, for state, secondary.	2. Bound up intensely in social unit and its expansion, the state. Free and intense public life. "Respect for authority and established institutions."

[1] Compiled from different studies of the Greeks and Romans. Fortified from original sources and classical history. It is unnecessary, even impracticable, to give detailed references. Those familiar with the studies and authors will easily trace.

These are general characteristics that became conspicuous as the two peoples developed.

It will be interesting here to refer to Chapter I which gives some hints as to the origin of the differences between the two peoples.

[2] See chapter IV, page 50. Repeated here to facilitate contrast.

Individuality through the state and in the state. Authority of state from the individual.

3. Versatility. Many-sided activity.

4. Power to generalize, idealize, universalize, and power to make ideals concrete and objective. "Kept going out from simple life and ideas of truth and proportion to a larger life, and thus heightened capacity and power."

Intense intellectuality and fearlessness in taking up and prosecuting to the end any subject or investigation regardless of issues. "Love of knowledge for its own sake, unfettered by form, religion, or caste."

"Creative imagination gave form to narrow realities of life."

5. Religion not abstract. Gods idealized human personalities (friendly). "Nature and life full of deity."

A joyful religion of freedom and spontaneity.

"Religious concepts, both the highest and simplest, open to all," not limited as in Orient.

Greeks saw bright and cheerful side. Moulded all in esthetic lines.

6. "Virtuous life a beautiful and happy one," in harmony with self and external relations."

No "deep religious sense or reverence. No high conception of abstract duty." No strong and steady devo*tion to principle.* No genius

State existed in and through the individual.

3. Stability, persistence. Rather narrow interests.

4. A strong tendency to the abstract and formal (devoted to set forms). "Disinclination to speculation and esthetics," but power to develop a certain strength in these directions.

Pure intellectuality did not appeal strongly.

Lack of imagination. Romans occupied with things as they were and their relations.

5. Religion abstract, formal, unimaginative, awe-ful, serious. Gods not "idealized personalities."

Romans saw a deep spiritual side to everything.

6. Strong moral nature. "Love for directness and truth." Felt obligation to law, duty, justice. Genius for order and system.

But Romans were utilitarian, practical, cold, calculating, unsympathetic, formal.

for order and system. Genius took other directions. Greeks "subtle and genial." Not conspicuous for solidity. Not highly developed in truthfulness. Showed broad and varied human sympathy.	
7. No strong family life. Woman subordinate and inferior.	7. "Real family life," strong, compact. Elements mutually helpful and regardful. Woman an important and influential factor, a commanding figure, coordinate, not subordinate.
8. "Education instinctive product of life and people; spontaneous." Also outgrowth of theory and discussion. At its foundation, a realization of capacity. Central idea to produce a balance in the factors of life. "Unity. Comprehensiveness. Proportion. Aimfulness." Little system or organization.	8. Education natural. Devoted to practical ends. Careful attention to secure results for self, friends, state. Order and system prominent.

Most prominent characteristics of Romans.— The most striking characteristic of the Romans evidently was their genius for organization, their predilection for system and for working out formal details. It is not necessary to prove it, for it has been recognized by the world through all the centuries since Rome was an active power. To attempt to explain it at length would be interesting, but it would be beyond our main purpose here. We accept it as a fact and must expect it to give character to Roman education. We may say that sterility of soil, a location not specially conducive to commerce, but strategic for military purposes, and the happy union of tribes and warring elements in her early history made Rome a military nation and directed her naturally to empire building not only for her own safety, but as an outlet for her strong qualities.[3] Empire building requires and develops practical organ-

[3] See Ihne's Rome, 1–2.

izing power. But this is only a surface explanation. The quality was in the basal race before it reached Rome; it was not merely a result of circumstances after that event.[4] With such contrast in character between the Greeks and the Romans we should expect to find striking contrasts in their schemes of education. Such contrasts there were. Especially should we expect to find Roman education well organized.

Two epochs in education.— Roman education is naturally divided into two epochs, 1, that in which old Roman ideas ruled exclusively, or practically so; 2, that in which foreign influence profoundly modified Roman thought and aims. The first extended, roughly, to the Punic Wars, or to about 250 B. C. The second reached onward from this time to the early Christian centuries. The dividing point was the period when Rome began that intimate contact with Magna Græcia and mother Greece that meant eventually the fall of Greece and a fusion of Greek and Roman ideals into a culture that was to be the dominant influence in the West. Though in fixing this dividing line the characteristics of the two epochs overlap somewhat, it is the most logical bound. The two periods are so distinct that they are easily discriminated.

For the sake of comparison and to get a more appreciative idea of secondary education we find ourselves here, as in Greek education, urged to give brief attention to elementary education before touching the secondary period.

Elementary education.— The educational aim in the early period of Roman education just referred to was to develop a hardy, practical youth, capable of maintaining family traditions and the state. The state was undoubtedly supreme, but we can perhaps discern a greater tendency to individual initiative than in Athens. At least there was family initiative. Perhaps if we could compare the two cities at exactly the same dates their predominant units would be found the same.

Practical nature of studies and educational material.—

[4] The characteristics in question were found in Dravidians and a Dravidian amalgamation, known as the Kushika race, that spread westward and left its influence in Italy. There is a Semitic element in Roman thought. Rome was distinct from Athens in the elements of her population. She was more comparable to Sparta in this respect. See Hewitt, Ruling Races, I: XIV–XVI, LXI, 296 ff.

From what has been said we should expect that the training employed to carry out this Roman ideal would be very practical. From the nature of the case, reading, writing and number, from the point of view of utility, would be relatively more prominent in Rome than in Athens. In reading the Romans at first used material very different from that found in early Athenian education, but material entirely in keeping with the Roman type of mind. It consisted of the XII Tables that must be learned by heart.[5] It was not long however before a Latin Homer came in to claim a share of the children's attention, and eventually indigenous Latin literature furnished reading matter.[6] In these standard subjects the standard methods described in Chapter V were used.[7] We should expect this, even the primeval rote learning, which we found still lingering there. Such methods easily adapt themselves to unpedagogical times.

Moral training.— But the Romans made more of moral training than of that which has just been noted. This would be expected of a practical people. Their method here was the best that has ever been devised for perpetuating national ideals,— training through imitation and careful guidance and surveillance.[8] Their models were those of their environment and those cherished in their folk-lore and were well calculated to appeal to young minds. If an over-dose of precept is found, we certainly find with it elements of method well adapted to young and growing citizens. As in later times, moral sentiments probably met the boy also in his writing copies.[9]

Discipline and incentives.— Discipline must always be considered a part of method, even of that which applies to ordinary studies like reading and writing. All testimony goes

[5] Horace, Ars Poet., 322 ff.; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 399 (see also 333–4); Pliny, Epist., VIII, 14.
"Discebamus enim pueri duodecim, ut carmen necessarium, quas jam nemo discit," Cicero, Leg., II, 23 (Becker's Gallus).

[6] "Meam (orationem) in illum pueri omnes tamquam dictata perdiscant," Cicero, Q. F., III, 1:4; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 398.

[7] Becker's Gallus, 189; Pliny, Epist., VIII, 14; Conf. Tacitus, Or.; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 362, 398.

[8] Juvenal, Sat., XIV; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 319 f. (see also 401).

[9] Horace, Sat., I, 4; Pliny Epist., III, 3; Juvenal, Sat., XIV; Tacitus, Or.; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 362–3, 396, 411, 420.

to show that discipline was harsh in Rome.[10] Learning was not an easy nor a honeyed task. Plautus (Bac. III, 13) says, "And then when you were reading your book, if you made a mistake in a single syllable, your skin would be made as spotted as your nurse's gown." On the other hand, it is quite probable that emulation and the stimulus of prizes had their application in this early education.[11] They would not be discordant with early Roman ideas. What we find in later times in this direction is perhaps a developed custom, not a new discovery.

Home education.— In early Rome instruction was frequently, if not generally, carried on in the home, which was a strong one. It was much stronger than the Athenian home, because the mother had a more substantial position and was an influential factor in her children's education.[12] Two strong teachers made the home an impressive school. Another indication of the changed position of woman, which is appropriately mentioned here, is the fact that this education of the elementary period was shared by both sexes.

Ludi.— Schools for both sexes.— There were also from an early date outside schools to which children could be sent,[13] — simple affairs, but in accord with Roman ideas. We have a record of them as early as the fourth century B. C., and they seem then to be a regular institution, so that they probably began at a much earlier date. Here too provision was made for both sexes, and it is significant that school privileges were extended to girls even beyond what is technically called primary education.[14]

[10] Horace, Sat., I, 3: 117 ff; Epist., II, 1: 70; Arts Poet., 343;

[11] See Clarke's Educ. of Children at Rome, and general reference books.

[12] Cicero, Brutus, 210; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 362, 410–11; Pliny, *op. cit.*, III, 3; VIII, 14; Tac. Or., 28.

[13] Martial, Epigs., IX, 8; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 399–400. See Livy, III, 44, "Virgini venienti in Forum (ibi namque in tabernis literarum ludi erant) minister decemviri libidinis manum injecit,"— quoted in Becker's Gallus; Conf. Livy, V, 27 (do.).

[14] Before Rome introduced her common sense way of looking at things, girls were practically left out of account in educational schemes, except in primitive tribes, and they played a minor part there. After a few centuries, especially after the early and fresher centuries of Christianity had passed, education again dropped them from its rolls, to a large extent, and became one-sided once more.

Physical training.— But we must not forget physical training. The hardy Roman character would make this one of the most natural parts of education. Mention of this has been reserved for this place, because it was not a part of the school, technically regarded, as in Greece. It was of a simple nature, and the appliances were also simple, much simpler and more practical than in Athens. There seems to have been no formal plan such as that found in the palæstra. Spontaneous games and exercises and the father's and mother's guidance and teaching were probably sufficient. There was no attempt at the esthetics of physical training. Health and power were the ends.

Education from environment and folk-lore.— Aside from this training in the three lines indicated there was always that spontaneous education coming from impressive Roman life and environment, as well as that coming from the folk-lore of the people, which, though differing in quality and perhaps in amount from the body of folk-lore in Greece, yet formed a substantial body of educational material that became a possession of the trained Roman.

Results.— The elementary years gave the child possession of simple forms and the means for practical communication with his fellows,— all that was necessary for the early Roman state. As there was little literature,— nothing beyond the Laws and some indigenous forms of literature of a rudimentary type,— little was needed in the way of linguistics. Elementary training in reading and writing for practical purposes of business or simple records (inscriptions, etc.), and enough arithmetic for simple operations, with such proficiency as came from imitation and practice in common life, were enough. A study of science in these early times was unnecessary. The Roman's practical sense gained through practical observation gave all that was required. The principle of apprenticeship would fulfil the demands in this direction.

Secondary education — initiation.— Formal training was the work of primary education. Something different was provided for the adolescent. It is true that he probably took pleasure in the old folk-lore, which appealed to him in new ways, but his principal business was to master the institutions

of his country and round out his training for military service. In short, his was a special training in the most essential features of citizenship attendant on, or supplementary to, his initiation into the citizen body, the most significant ceremony in his life. At the end of his fifteenth or sixteenth year, on a festal occasion called the Liberalia, which occurred on March 16th, "the conclusion of boyhood was commemorated, as among the Greeks," by special forms. The *insignia pueritiæ* and the *bulla* were dedicated with a sacrifice to the Lares at the domestic hearth. The *toga prætexta* of boyhood was exchanged for the *toga virilis* (or *pura* or *libera*) with a ceremony at the home and a second one in the Forum. It was not till the toga virilis was taken that the name (given on the ninth day after birth) was confirmed,— another indication that full manhood was reached. The occasion was also distinguished by a special tunic called *recta*. After the home ceremonies the boy was escorted to the Forum, the center of the Roman state and of Roman politics. The company then proceeded to the Capitol to offer sacrifice.[15]

Year of probation, and final stage of education.— Now began the boy's *tirocinium* or novitiate, the introductory stage of his public life.[16] "There was a year of transition or probation during which the behavior of the adolescent was carefully noted." In ancient times at least, the *cohibere brachium* and exercises in the Campus Martius were prescribed for him,[17] and to this we must add, it would seem, more extended physical exercise or drill, on this same field, that was naturally attractive to the adolescent.

Following a model.— But the youth must have more than physical training; there was a life in the city as well as a life in the field. During the introductory period he "frequented the tribunals in the Forum; . . . He was often under the guidance and direction of some striking personality, selected by his father, to whom he attached himself," following, observing, imitating. Under these conditions he gained a very

[15] See Appian, B. C., IV: 20.

[16] "Cotta eo ipso die quo togam sumpsit virilem protenus ut e Capitolio descendit C. Carbonem, a quo pater eius damnatus fuerat, postulavit."—Val. Max., V, 4:4; Suetonius, Claud., 2.

[17] Cicero, Cael., 5.

practical acquaintance with the vital elements of public life.[18] In very early times the ceremonies were perhaps of a simpler character and the father was probably oftener himself the attendant and director in public life. One cannot help admiring this personal solicitude for the pupil and the careful individual work done for him. The contrast with "mass" work is striking.[19]

Results.— Considering Roman intensity and self-consciousness it must be confessed that the boy, on entering public life at eighteen or nineteen, had a pretty definite training fitting him for Roman citizenship, and that it was attained by a method that appealed to the adolescent. There was little formal discipline, but there was much concrete training touching the intellectual, ethical, and physical sides of life. Suggestive ideals were impressed through models from Roman history, past and current, that were persistently held before the view, thus enforcing character and guiding to political efficiency. At the same time it should be noted that this represents the fully developed education of the early period. Back of it was, of course, the still simpler education typified by the schemes in Chapters I and II.

Summary.— A summary in graphic form, as in previous chapters, will enable us to bring the facts together and to make some comparisons.

[18] "The youth who was intended for public declamation was introduced by his father or some near relation, with all the advantage of home discipline and a mind furnished with useful knowledge, to the most eminent orator of the time, whom henceforth he attended on all occasions. He listened with attention to his patron's pleadings in the tribunals of justice and his public harangues before the people. He heard him in the warmth of argument, he noted his sudden replies, and thus on the field of battle, if I may so express myself, he learned the first rudiments of rhetorical warfare." See Tacitus, Or.; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 368; Becker's Gallus, 198. See also Quintilian.

The quotation perhaps contains some late details, but it illustrates the general practice. The references generally are from late authors, but the customs referred to were, in their fundamental ideas, unquestionably old.

[19] In addition to other sources the standard Classical Dictionaries have been used. They furnish various primary references.

Aim.— To train in a practical way a true Roman member of the family and the state (civic and military).— A strong, moral, patriotic, and (under the limitations of state supremacy) independent man.

CURRICULUM AND METHOD.

Elementary (Girls and Boys)	*Secondary*
Language: — (1) Familiarity with folk-lore. (2) Reading (practical not esthetic). Material: — songs, hymns, herotales, XII Tables,[20] rudimentary Latin literature. (3) Writing.	Boy assumes toga virilis at 16 with special ceremonies (religious, etc.). Is enrolled. Training in public and private life. Continues learning of rudimentary literature, etc. (See elementary course.)
Number,— simple calculation.	
Mastery of form, spirit and special characteristics of community life.	
Games.	
All education profoundly religious.	Chants national songs.
Early course advocated by Cato (a typical Roman): reading, writing, Roman law, physical exercises (walking, riding, swimming, boxing).	Gymnastic exercises in C. M. for military purposes.— Practical end, as opposed to the larger idea of Greeks, who included an esthetic purpose.
Method: — Companionship, observation, observance (imitation and practice).	Method: — Companionship of father in Forum, streets, etc.
Formal studies: — Reading,— synthetic method; (1) name and order of letters; (2) form and use. Attention to expression. Memory work.	In later times was added companionship of model man chosen by father.
	Observation and practice.
	Carriage watched.
Writing synthetic plan,— imitation, tracing, etc.	
Morals,— precept, suggestion through literature, etc., emulation.	
Education domestic. Mother prominent.	

[20] These laws are found in Wordsworth's "Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin." Oxford, 1874, and (in part) in Allen's "Remnants of Early Latin," Boston, 1880, and (in translation) in Monroe's "Source-Book."

They show advanced political and social organization, but a rather simple industrial development. Ideas of justice are high.

One section deals with the patria potestas, showing the extensive power of the father. The son could not be free from the father till three sales and emancipations had been consummated. Family organization was excessively strong.

"Three successive sales of the son by the father release the former from the patria potestas." Tab. IV.

One passage deals with wrongs inflicted by a tutor on his pupillus. Two passages place those above and those below puberty on a different footing.

He who during the night furtively either cuts or depastures his neighbor's crops, if of the age of puberty, shall be devoted to Ceres and put to death; if under that age, he shall be scourged at the discretion of the magistrate and condemned in penalty of double the damage done. Tab. VIII.

A thief taken in the act, if a freeman, shall be scourged and made over by addictio to the person robbed, but those under the age of puberty shall, at the discretion of the magistrate, be scourged and condemned to repair the damage. Tab. VIII.

VIII

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ROME — LATER PERIOD

Changes in the later period.— In the second period of Roman education Rome underwent changes similar to those we have traced in Greece, similar, but not the same, for there was a difference in stock and in circumstances.

Rome came into ever-widening contact with other peoples and conditions. It was not the contact of a cosmopolitan people nor of a great commercial people with reciprocal influences, cultural and practical, but first of all a contact of domination and Romanization. Every new state Rome touched — and touching was to gain — she at once organized as a part of her great imperial system that was developed long before the Empire came. She at once started the machinery for governing and assimilating. Hence the effect was more political than cultural. Yet the cultural was bound to be an element in the new acquisitions, for the larger part of the territory into which Rome penetrated in her early expansion was charged with it. However slight an impression it made at first on the new military power in the West, the spirit of culture is always tenacious of life and is sure to grow even on inhospitable soil. But Roman soil was far from being inhospitable. On the contrary it was distinctly favorable, though it would never produce the same quality of culture as Greece. This, however, was neither necessary nor desirable.

Thus Roman ideas were broadening generally, in cultural as well as in political and practical lines. Mere living in the midst of such a thoroughly organized system, involving widely separated and divergent peoples and states welded by masterful Roman ideas, gave a broader education. Much more did it require a broader and more technical education to participate in it.

As far as education was concerned the greatest influence in this world-wide contact came from Greece, first from Italian

Greece, which was early incorporated with Rome, then, intensified and enlarged, from Old Greece itself. Hence came literary ideals and culture ideas that were at first reluctantly,[1] and then eagerly, absorbed.

Changes therefore came from the growth and expansion of Rome and from the stimulus of other culture nations. But it should be remembered that greater and more vital changes came from the natural development of indigenous Roman qualities such as we have referred to more than once. From the combined influences at home and abroad came the following significant results that should be noticed, if we are to understand the changes in education now taking place: —

1. **Democracy.**— There was a notable growth in Roman democracy with its intricate system of assemblies, giving play to the political energies of all the people. This growth followed the exigencies of the moment rather than any logically arranged plan, just as the English constitution has grown. Every movement therefore was an educational episode. Beyond this was the organization of the provincial government, which was systematic and logical, made by trained minds, and occupying them in its execution.

2. **System of law.**— In connection with local and provincial government Rome had developed a system of law, with its machinery, that made a model for the world. It was without precedent, a genuine Roman product, a natural outgrowth of her organizing power. Trained minds made it. It required trained minds to man it.

3. **Language and literature.**— There was a wonderful growth of language and literature. First, indigenous Roman literature made considerable progress before more finished Greek models supplanted it. The latter, however, quickly gave a form and spirit that native genius alone would probably never have given, because the Roman bent was not that way. A wealth of literature was thus quickly at command. It was a great educational force and at the same time served as a conspicuous aim in education. Some of it was borrowed outright, some of it was produced through imitation, an imitation however into which Roman genius and personality were

[1] See page 116.

injected. A nation may advance more, and more quickly secure rich educational material, through such imitation than through unaided effort, if it is fortunate in its models, and Rome was fortunate.

4. **Practical arts.**— Great strides were made in practical arts and the sciences on which they were founded. Rome's public works still excite admiration. Such accomplishments would give greater emphasis to practical studies than was found in Greece.

5. Roman art had a marked development. Though she added some conspicuous features to architecture, her art was generally copy. But it was good copy from good teachers and afforded still further culture material.

6. **Individual development.**— With it all, the period developed an individualism comparable with that of Greece, but somewhat more stable, because not unanchored. The state was a stronger influence in Rome than in Greece. Men could not so easily set it aside. But Roman individualism was narrower than the Grecian; the latter was both intellectual and utilitarian, with emphasis on the intellectual; the other was primarily practical. In each case it gave more freedom in education and accelerated progress.

We may divide the most characteristic changes into two groups, 1, changes in Roman thought, feelings, and activities, due to Greek influence; 2, changes due to the natural expansion and growth of Rome herself and all that Rome stood for. There was something distinctly Roman, a kind of Roman genius, that remained and gave character to everything. Nowhere is this more evident than in education.

Comparison of early and late conditions in Rome.— The main changes in the second period of Roman education as compared with the first may be seen graphically and a little more in detail by reference to the following table of comparisons as to civic and social ideas in the two periods into which we have divided Roman history for our present purpose.

Early Period	*Late Period*
1. State, small, compact,— at most confined to Italy.	1. Rome imperial in size and power, though not in government till the end of the pe-

riod. Relations more complex. Wider contact with other civilizations (Greek).

2. Attention engrossed by class contests within, settlement of the scheme of government, contests with surrounding peoples. Objects of effort therefore were internal life and Italian supremacy, not culture. Education simple, practical.

2. New interests and new ideas come to view.
Old Roman character (see above) so strongly rooted that new culture forces its way slowly and takes on a distinctly Roman type. Colored by Roman traits.
Civilization wider, more complex. Education practical. Broader, more complex than before.

3. Thought simple, direct, matter-of-fact.

3. Thought simple and direct, but operates in a wider field. Concerned with wider knowledge. Greek civilization influences.

4. Art simple, practical; religious architecture, city walls, etc.

4. Art has grown under Greek stimulus and in part through Greek artists. Period of civic and private esthetics. Real Roman art practical, substantial, dignified.

5. Language and literature undeveloped; folk-lore,— fabulæ Atellanæ, mimus, saturæ. Only rudiments of literature, but indigenous. Of rude scenic nature for most part.

5. Language developed for literary purposes. A new literature; translations, imitations, original productions grow rapidly. Some genuine esthetic feeling in literature.

6. Individual devoted to state. This is the fundamental idea of life. Intense civic life.

6. Individual devoted to state, but less strenuously in later years.

7. Ideal.— Preparation for state service.

7. Ideal.— The orator.

A Roman ideal.— Under these conditions the ruling ideal is not far to seek. More than in Greece the power of words was the key to influence and preferment. From the time of the irrepressible conflict, when the Plebs burst into the old exclusive organization of the Patricians,[2] skill in debate became increasingly prominent and increasingly exacting. The hust-

[2] De Coulanges, *op. cit.*, 252, 258, 307, 360.

ings, advocacy of measures in the various assemblies, the lawyer's profession, success in provincial government, all suggested and demanded it.[3] Rome was full of action and expression. The quiet ideals of the scholar were not for her. Romans became statesmen of a practical type, and became as naturally orators. Public speaking as a leading object of effort was emphasized by the very concentration of Rome's interests. Thought would be focused on this object more fully in a purely martial and political republic than in a many-sided democracy that supplied more means of influence.

Requirements for meeting the new aim.— However it may be explained, men's thoughts fastened on the orator as an ideal, beyond anything seen before. As in Greece, so in Rome, the scope of his position grew to be so large and the needed equipment so broad and detailed that an elaborate and thorough course of training was required,— for the technique of his profession to give his speech form, for general culture and information to give it substance, and for mental training to give it effect. So the orator in his studies must cover the whole range of human knowledge. The old natural training of early Rome, all-sufficient then, was no longer enough. Language power had become a fine art. It required a more thorough training than in Greece, for public speaking had evidently become a more exacting profession. It was likely to be more thorough, because thoroughness was a native characteristic of the Romans, while brilliance characterized the Greeks. The calling of the lawyer emphasized qualifications similar to those of the orator and thus required a similar course of training. In fact the two callings became identical in preparation.

Influence of the art of authorship.— With the growth in language and literature, literary culture and the art of authorship also demanded an advance in training to meet the higher requirements. The orator's education, from the very nature of Rome's broad conception of her ideal, admirably met these demands of literature, for it involved a very definite study of literary ideals and broad and intense work in composition.

Need of a new school.— Everything points therefore to the need of a new school, new studies, and new methods, to

[3] Appendix 2; Cicero, Murena, 14; Tactitus, Or., 36.

supply the rather formidable requirements of the times. A well defined elementary school had been established in the early epoch. In the period under review it was somewhat modified by the new spirit that was strongly influencing education. What was needed, both from the logic of growth and from the demands of the "orator," was a well equipped secondary school. The secondary age was just the one to be inspired by the orator-ideal and get a good grasp of it.

A model at hand.— Greece had already developed the more detailed and technical curriculum needed to meet the new conditions in Rome. It was found in her grammar and rhetorical schools.[4] With other Greek contributions, welcomed and absorbed by the new Western culture, these schools would naturally come to Rome. The Romans themselves had the ability to invent the needed school under the pressing stimulus of the times. But they had a model at hand that only needed developing and adjusting to meet Roman thought and conditions. Rome was able to give system and organization to the training of the orator. It is hard to tell which is most responsible for the new school, Greek models or Roman character.

In thinking of this advance in school training we are attending merely to the practical demands of the situation. We must not forget, however, that education has inherent power of growth for its own sake, and that, with the general growth of a people many push on in education without regard to the practical.

Character of the secondary school.— From the emphasis on language power the secondary school quite naturally was a *grammar school.* Its name and curriculum were perpetuated in the grammar school of the Middle Ages, and the name still survives in the great Grammar Schools, or Public Schools, of England. This school developed gradually from small beginnings in the third century B. C. to the fully organized grammar school of the first century.[5]

Beyond this school was the Rhetor School that was partly

[4] See Chapter V.

[5] Appendix I; Becker, Gallus, 191–2. This was for boys only, though the education of women had advocates even in those times.

secondary. The lines of separation between the two schools were not always, if ever, hard and fast ones. There was frequent overlapping, one school taking some of the matter and functions of the other.[6]

Opposition.— The new education, particularly the art of rhetoric, naturally had its critics and opponents. The criticism was often just, for the laxer morals and looser methods of the schools, the apparently superficial work of the teachers of the speaking art, and the shading of the old practical civic ideal naturally excited strong prejudice in the sober, practical minds of the Romans. Opposition went so far sometimes that it resulted in state prohibition. But the new came in to meet a definite need. While details may have been bad, its main purpose was a logical and wholesome one. It quickly became popular and secured permanent standing,[7] and at its best could claim as much dignity and moral stamina as the older forms and processes. The old civic ideal and the old morale had not vanished. They still had influence enough to steady new forms.

Core of the curriculum.— The core of the Grammar School curriculum was linguistics, both Latin and Greek.[8] Rome was the first nation to make a formal study of a foreign language a conspicuous part of school life. Very early, not far from the beginning of the fourth century,[9] a knowledge of Greek was a convenience, if not a necessity.

Greek the leading language at first.— At first Greek was probably studied privately by certain people; the grammar school was not yet developed or was in its infancy. But by

[6] Quintilian, Inst. Orat., II: 1; Suetonius, Lives of Gram. (Monroe *op. cit.*, 351–2.)

[7] Quintilian, Inst. Orat., II, 1:1; Suetonius, *op. cit.*, (Monroe, Source Book, 352–3).

Ancient discipline in the broad sense had become demoralized. Boys ruled. There was inattention on the part of those who pretended to give instruction. "The mischief began at Rome, and has overrun all Italy." See Tactitus, Or., 28, 31–2, 35 (Monroe, *op. cit.*, 360 ff.); Plautus, Bac., III: 3.

For other criticism see Quintilian, *op. cit.*, II: 10; Juvenal, Sat., VII, XIV (Monroe, *op. cit.*, 416 ff.).

[8] Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I. It was significantly called literatura, thus showing something of its scope, Do., II, 1:4.

[9] Laurie, *op. cit.*, 344.

the second century, or earlier, it was a commanding part of the school program, coming in perhaps with Greek grammarians.[10] At first Greek was the only language taught in the grammar schools,[11] probably because the early grammatici, or at least the best of them, were Greeks. Cicero (Brutus, 90) says,

> "I constantly declaimed in private with Marcus Piso, Quintus Pompeius, or some other of my acquaintances, pretty often in Latin, but much oftener in Greek, because the Greek furnishes a greater variety of ornaments and an opportunity for imitating and introducing them into Latin; and because the Greek masters, who were by far the best, could not direct and improve us unless we declaimed in that language."

But in time Latin came to take the precedence. In fact Latin rapidly developed as a literary and oratorical language with high possibilities.

Favorite authors.— The Latin authors most read at first were those of the golden age, Vergil, Horace and Lucan; but later, about the time of Quintilian's death, came a change that brought into favor old masters of prose and verse,— Gracchus, Nævius, Plautus and others.[12]

Studies.— The curriculum thus included first of all language. It was studied intensively, and included orthography, grammar (with little syntax), pronunciation, literary style and content, artistic reading, declamation, composition, literature, in many schools elementary rhetoric and delivery,[13] and even music, which was thought to have special power to give quality to oral and written language. The curriculum included also geography and astronomy, which won favor both as informational and as practical subjects; geometry, which was taken up for its disciplinary value and its utility in common life;[14] arithmetic, of a practical nature; and history. Of these sub-

[10] Do., 359; Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I.

[11] Harper's Dic. of Clas. Antiq., sub. voc., *education.*

[12] Smith's Dic. of Greek and Roman Antiq, sub voc., *Ludus Literarius.*

[13] Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I, 4–11, (study of literature, I, 8; composition I, 9; Rhetoric, II, 1).

[14] "In summo apud eos honore geometria fuit; itaque nihil mathematicis inlustrius. At nos metiendi, ratiocinandi utilitate huius artis terminavumus modum,"— Cicero, Tusc., I, 2, 5.

jects astronomy, geography, and history[15] seem to have been correlated subjects, being taken up in connection with language study. The language subjects were thus the ones that were developed with the greatest care and system. Other subjects were subordinate and often of a very elementary character. Science, including geography, was probably quite primitive, though the latter subject with its appliances would doubtless compare favorably with its counterpart in comparatively modern curricula. It should be noted also that the Roman attitude toward subjects was in strong contrast with the typical attitude of the Greeks who had more of the ideal in their dealings with them.[16]

Physical training.— But there was another side to the curriculum,— physical training, which, though relatively more important in early Rome, held an important place in the adolescent's training at this time. It was even regarded as a useful and necessary part of the orator's training. Physical form and grace of manner and carriage had their force in commending him to hearers.[17] Beauty was a means, not an end as in Greece. Hence we now find schools of exercise in addition to the regular Campus Martius exercises referred to before, and they seem to have something of the Greek idea in their conduct.[17]

Moral training.— Ethical training continued to receive attention. Roman educators, true to the old Roman feeling, still made the subject one of absorbing interest in the curriculum. But the evidence tends to show that the old Roman ideal had been weakened here as in other matters.[18] Such schoolmasters as Quintilian, however, more than revived the older thought,— they revived and systematized it, so that moral values were constantly considered in making out the pupil's course of training.[19]

[15] History occupied a larger and more important place than the others.

[16] Laurie, *op. cit.*, 357 ff.; Quintilian, *op. cit., passim;* Cicero, Brutus, 91, 93.

[17] "Nobis quidem olim annus erat ad cohibendum brachium toga constitutus et ut exercitatione ludoque campestri tunicati uteretur," Cicero, Cael., 5.

[18] Plautus, Bac. III, 3; Tacitus, Or. 28, (Monroe, *op. cit.*, 360 ff.).

[19] Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I: 11.

Teachers.— The designations of teachers who were in charge of Roman schools were significant,— *grammatici* and *rhetores*. In Greece both would have come under the general class of sophists. Rhetores were termed sophists at Rome. Teachers came to be held in high honor, for the practical Roman ideal of the period gave them a place that few teachers have occupied. They were in reality the center of the Roman political development. Quintilian's finest passages lay great stress on the fundamental duty of choosing teachers with great discrimination, especially for early work.[20]

Method in language elaborate.— The typical method was a formal one as far as language proper was concerned. It included dictation exercises,[21] reproduction, grammatical drill, paraphrasing, translation,[22] a critical study of the language and literary qualities of poets, the exegesis of the poets, and memory work. But, in general, mastery of rules, imitation, including a careful study of literary models, and abundant practice were the characteristic features of method. Clarke [23] describes a combination reading, language and literature lesson as follows: [24]

Language and literature.— "Before the pupil read his lesson the teacher probably first read it over for him (praelegere), in order to show him how he wished it to be done. Then he made the sense of the passage clear, knowing that the first requisite of good reading is a thorough understanding. Difficult words and historical and mythological allusions were explained, and attention was called to poetical licenses, foreign words, figures of speech, unusual turns of expression, and the varying senses of the words according to their context. Occasion was taken to impress on the pupil's mind the importance of orderly arrangement, and of the suitable treatment of different subjects and characters, to point out beauties of sentiment and diction, and to explain how in one place diffuseness, in another brevity, is desirable. To insure his perfect understanding of a passage the

[20] Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I: 1; II: 2–3.

[21] Cicero, Q. F., III, 1:4; Horace, Epist. II, 1:69 ff.; Laurie, *op. cit.*, 368 ff. These dictation exercises were useful also in performing part of the function of text books in the early days, when books were scarce.

[22] Pliny, Epist. VII, 9; Monroe, *op. cit.*, 413 ff.

[23] Clarke, *op. cit.*, 112 ff.

[24] Cicero, Brutus, 89, 91; Appendix to Chap. IX; see also reference 22.

pupil was required to give a prose paraphrase of it, and to explain the metrical construction. Moral lessons were drawn from the words of the poet, and it was explained how the poet's fancy might make use of fictitious situations and characters to present valuable truths." [25]

"Thus the reading lessons from the poets were made the means of instruction in many different subjects — practical ethics, grammar, composition, elocution, geography, mythology, and history."

It is to be noticed that poetry was the standard literature for the Grammar School; [26] prose was relegated to the Rhetor School. Whether intended or not, poetry did not ill-suit the age of grammar, i. e., secondary, school, pupils, though selections from prose literature were also desirable and essential.

So much for methods in language work. The main features and principles have been given here. Much interesting matter as to details will be found in the following chapter and its appendix, where they can be more appropriately taken up.

Rhetoric.— In rhetoric there was concrete work in connection with literature, if we may infer that Quintilian's description of method represents the general practice.[27] There were also text-books and schemes ("topics") to guide pupils in developing themes or forensics. An illustration of the latter is given in the appendix.[28]

Geography and history.— Some hint of method in geography and history has already been given in saying that they were correlated subjects. History came through the reading of Roman and Greek historians, through following allusions in language work, and through the idealization of Roman heroes. In all this the Roman boy got a vivid and impressive idea of Roman achievements and Roman political ideals, and must also have mastered the main facts of Greek history. As to geography it is interesting to note that map work was the conspicuous means of teaching. This was the only practical method.

[25] Such a minute study of literature at the adolescent period would have killed real interest in it, if there had not been some intense object in view, making even such martyrdom tolerable.

[26] Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I, 8, 9; II, 4, 5, 7; Smith's Gr. and Rom. Antiqs. See Appendix 3.

[27] Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I, 8; II, 5.

[28] Appendix 5.

Moral instruction.— The method of moral instruction was the most concrete of all, because there was a wealth of illustrative material here. Training was given impressively through literature and history, and through living models to whom Roman boys were attached for the purpose of learning their methods of public speaking.[29]

Group teaching.— As to organization of instruction, there was doubtless the ordinary class work, but it is very interesting to find reference to group teaching for the sake of meeting individual qualities and stimulating emulation. For such purposes group teaching offers better opportunities than class teaching. It is still more interesting to find a number of references which indicate regard for the individual without thought of emulation. They show that early secondary schools made the adolescent the basis of their work, at least that they had a sympathetic regard for him.[30] Quintilian's description of the best school practices throws strong emphasis upon individual work.

The new school a prototype.— There has thus been established,— in part developed, and in part adopted and adapted,— a formal school program for the adolescent in place of the free and natural training of the early period. This was the Grammar School. It was presided over by the Grammaticus, the Roman grammar master, prototype of the more modern grammar masters in the secondary schools of Europe,[31] particularly of England, and of the early grammar masters of this country, in our earliest secondary schools. This Grammar School became at the end of the first century a well-organized, a well-systematized, and a powerful institution, a great moulding force in the Roman world. Practical aims were prominent in these Roman schools at their best period, but at the same time cultural ideas and opportunities were there and had no inconsiderable influence.

The typical form.— Schools varied in scope and program.

[29] "Long is the path through moral preaching; short and efficacious that through example." Sen., Epist. VI: 5.

[30] Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I, 2: 23. See also Appendix to Chapter IX.

[31] A European Grammar School takes pupils earlier and keeps them longer than our High School, so that comparisons as to names, ages, and curricula cannot be exact.

They probably varied in method and spirit as well.[32] The fundamental branches with language and literature, music and geometry are said to have formed the curriculum for the majority. The typical school however was the Grammar School whose program has been described on the preceding pages. It was the center and determining influence of the Roman school world, the distinctive product of the period. Variations only illustrate the type.[33]

This school gave the preliminary training for the summum bonum[34] of the ambitious Roman, the orator. To carry out this aim in full, however, regularly required additional study and training. This was supplied by the Rhetor School[35] for which the Grammar School was preparatory.

The Rhetor School.— The Rhetor School continued the work in composition, elocution, and mnemonics, making it more intensive. It developed style and effectiveness in writing and confidence in delivery that were preparatory to entering the Forum.[36] It evidently included at least two years of secondary work corresponding to the last two years of our high school curriculum. But it included also higher, or, as we should say, university training through studies not specified in the lower curriculum, and taken up there, if at all, only in a correlated and very elementary and concrete way,— studies like psychology and philosophy, essential for giving a solid

[32] There were of course various kinds of schools as to breadth, standards, and thoroughness. Then again there were schools that gave themselves sensibly to their appointed tasks, suited to the pupils under their charge, and schools that aped higher schools and grasped at some of their tasks. All this was to be expected under private initiative before the days of uniform state aims. It should be noted also that some pupils went from the grammar schools to other professions than that of the orator, and for them a simpler curriculum may have been sufficient. See Laurie, *op. cit.*, 361.

[33] Suetonius, Lives of Gram. (Quintilian). See Smith's Dic. of Antiq.

[34] Tacitus, Or., 36; Cicero, Mur., 4. See Clarke, *op. cit.*

[35] Appendix 2; Becker, *op. cit.*, 192.

Young men sometimes went directly from the Grammar School to the Forum, thus abbreviating their curriculum and proportionally weakening it. Then as now, they hurried toward the goal, and often missed it. Suetonius, Lives of Gram.; Monroe, *op. cit.*; Quintilian also refers to it.

[36] See below, pp. 125–6.

basis for oratory, and studies like civil law, needed by the orator on the technical side in his capacity as lawyer. This school will be considered more in detail in the next chapter.[37]

Rome and Greece compared.— In Greece we found two typical schools, the practical language school, or school of rhetoric, and the philosophical school. The Romans devoted themselves especially to the first. They, however, combined with it, for practical purposes in giving finishing touches to the orator, the main features of dialectic, but rather in form than in the philosophic spirit of the Greeks. Diagogic education was foreign to the ideals of Rome, except for the special few.

A brief summary in tabular form will give a general view of Roman secondary education of this period. It is not necessary to go further into details here. An extended and minute description of the fully developed secondary school under Quintilian is given in the Appendix to the next chapter.

ROMAN EDUCATION OF THE SECOND PERIOD.

Aim: — A practical one. To prepare for a career in State or Forum is the most practical idea. All else is subservient. In spite of the practical aim, however, a high degree of culture resulted.

Women enjoyed elementary education and something more.[38]

The curriculum: —

Elementary — Ages 7–11 (Girls and Boys).	*Secondary — Grammar School — Ages 12–15*
Similar in subjects to education of the early period. But more attention to rapid writing advocated by Quintilian.	Language: — *Reading* (advanced),— diction and expression emphasized; reading as a fine art.
Greek added,— taught conversationally. (Greek became the prominent language in education.)	*Grammar* (Greek and Latin), with minute philological treatment of at least Latin grammar, but not much syntax, and no parsing. *Dictation exercises* (supply the place of text-book, etc.).
Form and expression emphasized in reading.	*Literature* (extracts from
Material: — XII Laws, Homer,	

[37] See Chapter IX, Appendix, p. 142.
[38] See Appendix 4, and Chapter VII, p. 104.

ballads, etc. Maps. Counters and abacus.

Child more under attendants and in school. So more attention to formal education, which was of rather a severe type. Domestic forces weakened.

poets memorized). "Critical study of language and literary qualities of poets"; also "explanation of poets."

Composition, Declamation, Elementary Rhetoric, and Oratory.

Writing (parchment and pen now; wax-tablet is the student's "scratch book)."

Mathematics,— arithmetic, geometry, astronomy (simple and concrete).

History,— correlated.

Geography,— correlated.

Music,— rhythm and meter. Contrasted with Greek ideas.

Gymnastic exercises, — for health and military purposes. End a practical, not an educational one.

Material: — Writing utensils. Maps. Books,— Æsop, Homer and other poets; also prose works; but poetry especially emphasized.

Linguistic training the core of secondary education. All else subordinate. Latin growing as a culture language and winning first place.

In addition to this the boy destined for oratory (the legal profession) had two secondary years in the Rhetor School studying composition, elocution, and literature, and other years of higher work elsewhere.[89]

Method in the Secondary school: — *Language and literature.* Artistic work in reading. Dictation. Reproduction. Paraphrasing. Grammatical drill. Prosody and verse writing. Translation (including cross-translation). Interpretation or exegesis of poets

[89] Varro's curriculum was grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, dialectic, medicine, architecture, music.

("explanation of the poets"). Close, critical study of literature. — *Elementary Rhetoric and Oratory:* — Scheme and specimens for guidance and training; also text-book work.— *Geography,* map work.— *History,* correlated with language work. Quintilian advocates concrete and correlated work.— *Ethical teaching:* — Correlated with writing, etc. Emulation, rewards.

Outside of literature text-books instruction was chiefly oral. Work often superficial except in linguistics.

Memory work, imitation, and practice were the prominent features of method.[40]

Initiation ceremonies.— But we must not allow this conspicuous and engrossing program of study and training to occupy the field of vision so fully as to hide the old forms. The typical ceremonies of the old adolescent course still remained. The formal exchange of togas, the sacrifice at the Capitol, the "entering of the Forum," with other characteristic forms, were all present. These ceremonies, or at least some of them, had probably increased in elaborateness and detail, but decreased in real meaning and in vital relation to characteristic instincts. In the lapse of time instincts themselves had become quiescent or had been supplanted. The old was rather present as a persistent form; the new represented the actual and real for the training of Roman youth, except so far as sentiment and ceremony served to give significance to changes that occurred at the adolescent period, when the young Roman assumed a new attitude toward work and life,— particularly toward the state. There was one part of the old, however, that remained in vigor. This was the special feature

[40] Method in higher education. See page 122.

Specialized, and conducted in different places calculated to give practical training for different pursuits. Study for scholarship attracted some. For those who entered public life the higher education was advanced training in oratory in rhetorical schools. Training here was given in great detail, following naturally from the secondary course; an intensive course of work, essentially literary, or linguistic, but requiring the whole range of knowledge, to give foundation and substance. Mathematics, law, and philosophy were studied under special teachers, but not regarded as essential factors in rhetorical schools; they were useful for an orator however (see Quintilian). They were "merely touched," except by the few. Law and oratory were the sum and substance of the curriculum for public life. Post-graduate work was sometimes carried on at Athens, Rhodes, etc. See Cicero, Ad At., XII, 32.

of the old secondary training represented in the expressions "*in Forum venire*," "*Forum attingere*." The Roman youth depended much on this for his practical grasp of Roman public life.[41]

Net results of the period.— The last chapters show that with the rise of letters the elementary school came as an introduction to secondary work, and that the higher school was added on the other side to give the technique for professional work. The typical secondary school, shown most characteristically on Roman soil and in Quintilian's time, thus became a formal institution related above and below and accordingly modified in function and curriculum. Its function was a double one, looking on one side toward culture, and on the other toward preparation for the one profession that monopolized attention at the time. In effect it was a vocational school, or rather an introduction to vocational study. It was cultural, because success as an orator involved the highest degree of culture. The old thought, however, that centered in civic development and patriotic mastery of the inheritances of the race was still evident, both in initiation ceremonies, preserved in semblance at least, in great feeling for state service, even though largely a matter of personal ambition, and in enthusiasm for the achievements of the city-state in literature and politics.

APPENDIX

1. **"Grammar."**—"The science of grammar was in ancient times far from being in vogue at Rome; indeed it was of little use in a rude state of society, when the people were engaged in constant wars and had not much time to bestow on the liberal arts. At the outset its pretensions were very slender, for the earliest men of learning, who were both poets and orators, may be considered as half-Greek. I speak of Livius and Ennius who are acknowledged to have taught both languages, as well at Rome as in foreign parts. But they only translated from the Greek, and if they composed anything of their own in Latin, it was only from what they had before read."

"Crates of Mallos . . . was in our opinion the first who introduced the study of grammar (of course in the Roman sense) at Rome." This was about 157 B. C.

[41] Cicero, Amic. 1; Becker. *op. cit.* Probably the passage quoted from Tacitus on page 107 has more force here than in the first period.

"The appellation of Grammarian was borrowed from the Greeks, but at first the Latins called such persons Literati."— Suetonius, Lives of Gram.; Monroe, Source Book, 349–50.

2. **Subject matter of the orator.**— Tacitus in his Dial. de Or. says that "the old orators did not think it necessary to declaim in the schools, and to exercise their tongues and their voices alone upon fictitious controversies, remote from reality, but rather to fill their minds with such studies as concern life and manners, as treat of moral good and evil, of justice and injustice, of the decent and the unbecoming in actions, because these constitute the subject matter of the orator."

3. **Services of poets.**—"The tender lisping mouth of a child the poet forms; even in their early days he turns the ears of the young from evil words; presently he fashions the heart by kindly precepts; he is the corrector of roughness, of malice, of anger; he tells of virtuous deeds; the dawn of life he furnishes with illustrious examples; the helpless and sad of soul he comforts. Whence could the pious boys and virgins learn their hymns of prayer, had not the Muse granted us a bard? The chorus prays for aid, and Heaven's presence feels, and in set form of persuasive prayer implores rain from above, averts disease, drives away dreaded dangers, obtains peace and a season rich with its crops. Appeased by hymns are gods above and gods below." — Hor., Epist. II, 1, 126 ff. (Monroe, *op. cit.*, 398.)

4. **Education of women.**— Musonius speaks of the education of women, and thinks that as far as the culture of virtue is concerned they should have the same education as men; and again he says, "only, as regards any of the most important matters, let not the one be taught differently from the other." He admits however that each sex has its appropriate field, and he would make some exceptions in education, such as omitting gymnastics for women. But he sets great store by philosophy (the science of matters regarding life) for both men and women. See quotations from Musonius given by Laurie, *op. cit.*, 427 ff. (Monroe, *op. cit.*, 401.)

5. **Scheme for composition.**—"It is not to be supposed that the Roman boy had thrown on him the impossible task of producing the exercises above referred to without help and guidance." He was aided in this by "topics" ("loci"), which "had for their object the fixed development of a subject in a certain form and the art of finding arguments. Without entering into details, which however are interesting educationally, I shall borrow from Professor Jullien a statement of the topical hints for an exercise on a chria, *i.e.*, dictum or pregnant sentence ascribed to some distinguished man: *e.g.*, Plato says 'the Muses dwell in the soul of the cultured man.'"

1. A laudation of the writer to whom the utterance or deed was ascribed.
2. The paraphrase, in which the thought was expanded.
3. The motif or underlying principle, which explained and justified the truth of the thought.

4. Comparison, *i.e.*, the comparison of the thought with other thoughts like or unlike, just as Plutarch compares characters in his Lives.
5. The example, which was furnished by some distinguished man.
6. Witnesses to confirm the dictum, *i.e.*, quotations from authorities who had said the same or a similar thing.
7. Conclusion, which often took the form of an oratorical exhortation.

So guided, and with models of similar exercises before him, often written by the master, the boy could scarcely fail to produce a fairly good essay or declamation, especially as the learning by heart of the poets had stored his mind with words and felicitous expressions." Laurie, *op. cit.*, 370–1.

IX

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN QUINTILIAN AND CICERO

From the general characteristics and ideals of Roman education that have been discussed in previous chapters it does not seem strange that the most prominent writers on Roman pedagogy whose works we possess were a consummate orator and an equally consummate teacher of orators. They can hardly be called theorists, as was the case with the two writers on Greek education whom we considered, for the work of one of them grows out of actual educational practice, and perhaps largely out of his own experience, while that of the other is based on existing school programs and on his own work as teacher.

Cicero and Quintilian compared.— We need not dwell on Cicero here, for he contributed little, if anything, that was new in secondary school polity. He was a lay writer chronicling school customs of his day and giving us an attractive autobiography for the period of school life, with some reflections suggested by it. In some respects he is all the more interesting for these reasons. He deserves a distinct place in the history of education. But since he has given us practically nothing that is not included in the educational scheme of the great school man, Quintilian, detailed consideration of his suggestions as to education will be omitted, except for a few notes in the appendix, and the chapter will be given specifically to Quintilian. Cicero is the orator giving a general disquisition on the education of an orator. Quintilian is the educator describing scientifically, and with a wealth of detail and illustration, the course and method of training for what Nettleship rightly calls the great liberal profession of Rome,— the profession of lawyer, senator, statesman combined. We have in effect a masterly account of the training of the liberally educated and professionally educated man. It must therefore

cover the whole range of school life,— elementary education, secondary and higher education, and professional education.

Estimate of Quintilian.— In a way Quintilian summarizes ancient education and lays the foundation for modern pedagogy. He is one of the few great master teachers of the world. His really wonderful book is the first systematic treatise on pedagogy. Through this and his own personal influence as a teacher he impressed himself deeply on school life in general and especially on the secondary school. So deeply did he impress himself on the latter that for many centuries it was largely the embodiment of Quintilian's curriculum and method; even to-day it bears unmistakable resemblance to his model. Secondary school pedagogy does not go beyond Quintilian, except as Quintilian inherited from beyond. The rest were forgotten; his impress alone was acknowledged.

His qualifications for writing on education.— Quintilian's success as a writer on education is largely, if not wholly, due to the fact that he was a practical school man. That he had gained practical experience in the Forum, had been a teacher for many years in Rome and perhaps also in Spain, and had been master of the first state school or college at Rome placed him in the best possible position to write, not only intelligently, but also scientifically, on the subject in question.

Altogether Quintilian is more worthy of close study in this connection that any writer on pedagogy in the history of the secondary school,— at least down to the nineteenth century. However, only a general discussion of his main contributions to secondary education will be in place here. An appendix will supply a full description, with citations, for those who wish to see more in detail what this great master of his art has given us.

Characteristic features of his secondary school. His aim. — The great end of his training was the Roman ideal that has already been sufficiently emphasized, the development of the complete orator:

"A man, who, being possessed of the highest natural genius, stores his mind thoroughly with the most valuable kinds of knowledge; a man sent by the gods to do honor to the world and such as no preceding age has known, a man in every way eminent

and excellent, a thinker of the best thoughts and a speaker of the best language." [1]

"No man," he says, "will ever be thoroughly accomplished in eloquence who has not gained a deep insight into the impulses of human nature and formed his moral character on the precepts of others and on his own reflection." . . . "I should desire the orator whom I am trying to form to be a kind of Roman wise man who may prove himself a true statesman, not by discussions in retirement, but by personal experience and exertions in public life." [1]

Practical efficiency.— Such is the ideal that his fine educational imagination pictures to him. In his scheme of education, however, he takes the ordinary material of the school and sets himself the task of training to the highest standard possible. His aim is to make an effective man of high character, able to maintain an honorable place in Roman life. It is thus an intensely practical one that should appeal to present day educators whose main thought is practical efficiency.

Curriculum. Composition the central subject.— In his curriculum we should find nothing striking to distinguish it from what has already been given. In fact Quintilian plays an important part in the chapter that summarizes Roman education for the later historical period, though largely without name. It is in detail and in spirit that we find his real contributions. These appear especially and typically in his treatment of composition. Writing was the great medium and means of training. Quintilian cannot say too much for it.[2] It is his main dependence in the training of an orator. He therefore lays out a detailed and thorough course in it, which he describes with great fulness, showing how to begin and the various steps to be taken to give a complete training. Side by side with this, causa exemplorum, goes an equally comprehensive and appreciative study of literature, ancient and modern, Greek and Latin, that of itself would give a liberal education. His remarks as to values and purposes here are both interesting and helpful in understanding his ideal. Literature

[1] See Quintilian, XII, 1, 2. Appendix 2, page 139.

[2] "In writing are the roots, in writing are the foundations of eloquence. By writing resources are stored up, as it were in a sacred repository whence they may be drawn forth for sudden emergencies, or as circumstances require," X, 3:3. See Appendix for details.

is his most important study for training in composition and language. With it, and chiefly correlated with it, goes a careful study of arithmetic and geometry, for training and information rather than for practical value; of astronomy and history, as making for general intelligence and affording a key to the interpretation of allusions; of rhetoric and music, as giving form to thought and style to language; and of elocution and physical training, which add grace to voice and person. His scheme was therefore well-rounded, and its parts were carefully related.

Method.— But he contributes more to pedagogy in his treatment of method than otherwise. His books are rich in minute details as to conducting class work. He explains the manner and spirit in which composition should be guided and corrected; the various kinds of exercises in literature for meeting the ends of discipline and information, and especially for supplying models, ethical, literary, grammatical, and rhetorical; the kind of training in reading that is adapted to pupils of this age; the line of teaching that must be applied to rhetoric to make it a live subject; the method for training pupils in voice, carriage and manner in declamation; and the principles that underlie sound memory training. Much of this is refreshing reading even now, especially his remarks on composition, reading, rhetoric, and memory training. He can hold his own with the best modern pedagogical writers on such topics. In rhetoric he could give the average teacher points that would put him far in advance of his present method of teaching.[3]

Feeling for the boy. Child psychology.— But Quintilian had real feeling not merely for his subject, dear as that was to him, but also for the boy. There was to be no cold dealing out of rules and manipulation of practice and drill, as was often, probably generally, the case. He knew his pupils so thoroughly that his knowledge became intuition, and he interwove in his scheme many a human element and fine feeling for the child. His estimate of teachers from this point of view was correspondingly keen and appreciative. Quintilian thus had two schemes of "concentration" in his educational plan, one in which everything was grouped around his "core,"

[3] For details of method see Appendix.

linguistics, and the other in which the boy was the center, and culture and training material were related to him. Throughout the discussion there is a play back and forth between these two ideas.

Training, not nature.— Quintilian had a genuine enthusiasm for his subject. He treats it broadly and thoroughly, as a means to a great end that calls for the best from teacher, pupil, and curriculum. No catch-penny methods or superficial short-cuts, such as some sophists used, received any countenance from him. He had also a genuine faith in the power of training. Not nature, but training was, in his opinion, the chief factor in the finished product. At the opening of his book he says:

> "You will find the greater number of men both ready in perceiving and quick in learning, since such quickness is natural to man. . . . But dull and unteachable persons are no more produced in the course of nature than are persons marked by monstrosity and deformity; such are certainly but few. It will be a proof of this assertion that among boys good promise is shown in far the greater number; and if it passes off in progress of time, it is manifest that it was not natural ability, but care that was wanting,—"[4]

which reminds us that in all ages backwardness in school is generally due to bad teaching at some stage of the child's school life, or to bad habits and bad environment. The high aims of education were never more strikingly and simply stated than by Quintilian.

Characteristic features of his school.— So much for a general statement of Quintilian's contributions to education. To formulate a little more specifically we may give the following tabulation of the characteristic features of his school. This will place them before us a little more pointedly and will give a clearer idea of Quintilian's genius in pedagogy.

A. **His curriculum:** — Linguistic work, with great stress upon grammar, composition, declamation, and literature, is predominant,— in fact practically comprises the secondary course. All else is ancillary and, for the most part, correlated.

[4] Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I, 1:2.

B. **His methods —**

1. The individual is to be studied. Quintilian makes the psychology of his pupil one of his guides in method, whether for the sake of the boy or for the sake of his subject.

2. Talent[5] lies at the foundation, but precocity is decried.

3. Memory is the key to education. Through it the pupil stores a vast amount of information, forms, and models, of all kinds, to weave into his linguistic life. "The chief symptom of ability in children is memory."[6]

4. Habit, as a factor and determinant in education and its subject matter, is emphasized. Memory is the storehouse, habit is the safety-valve in education.

5. Imitation is the beginning and center of intellectual life. Hence the imperative need of a careful choice of teachers and of subject matter in teaching.[7]

6. Stress is laid on the principle of interest as determining the character of at least the early exercises.

7. Provision is made for concrete, objective teaching, broad in scope, splendid in conception.

8. But, after all, close application and persistent work come to the forefront as the real keys to success, especially in the two directions to be noted in the following sections.

9. He insists on extensive and intensive reading of literature for general culture, but more particularly for moral training, and as a means of developing linguistic power. The latter purpose is accomplished characteristically through study, imitation, practice, and original work, the first three supplying a foundation and stimulus for the last.

10. Great emphasis is placed upon practice, but he has regard also for rules. His is a disciplinary course of the most refined and scientific sort, leading up to refined and effective habit. But it is not the formal discipline, sometimes found, that gives a culture forced from without, but rather one that develops personality from within, by which a balance is set up between the external and the internal. How far he is removed

[5] But talent only as supported by industry. Talent is less powerful than training.

[6] Do., I, 3: 1.

[7] Do.; also II, 2: 1 ff; X, 2: 1.

from the former is indicated by various passages showing his care for developing personality and individuality.

11. His scheme is therefore marked by careful insistence upon the development of individual judgment and creative power, and it includes careful directions for this purpose.

12. He advocates a discipline that draws, rather than repels, stimulates rather than depresses or represses,— one that harmonizes pupil and teacher.

It thus appears that Quintilian emphasizes, particularly, memory work, imitation, practice, drill, and individual work. On these lines he builds up an elaborate system minutely outlined and splendidly described and illustrated. Education with him has become not only a science, but an art. His thought is based not only on empirical knowledge, but on principles drawn from his own experience and from the work of previous educators, and on the philosophic insight of the trained mind. The tone that comes from the practical school man gives it added charm. His book is so full of substance that it is no easy matter to abbreviate and summarize; for Quintilian is evidently "one of the moderns." He gives us, in germ at least, practically all that modern pedagogy has evolved.

Final influence.— But, taking his Institutes as a whole, his plan of teaching clearly shows a uniformity of formal training. Even his elaborate program of literary study has more or less of the formal in it. Those interesting touches that reveal an appreciation of child nature and of educational development, however, relieve and temper the formality. If it seems surprising that, with these germinal truths that appear frequently, the real nature of education and the educational process was not realized earlier, we must remember that elements of the larger educational life were not brought together, so as to make a lively center of influence for those who were to follow.[8] Thus, though the Quintilian school was as advanced for its time and as well adapted to its time as can be claimed for any school in history, some of its more sig-

[8] Even if this part of Quintilian's pedagogy had stood out most prominently, the political and social conditions, as well as the intellectual bent, of the following years were not favorable to progressive pedagogy. The Grammer Schools copied rather than initiated. But a force was at work that would eventually produce a marvelous reform.

nificant principles were lost sight of. They must wait for a more scientific age to bring a higher unity of educational aims and plans.

Formal discipline.— Whatever may have been true of Quintilian, his followers took the formal system and made it uniform through the whole period of education,— developed and intensified it so that it almost took on the nature of divinity. Quintilian but dimly, if at all, realized education as a subjective process; still less did his followers seem to realize it. Following a path he made so clear they made education a form pure and simple, and this for nearly two thousand years.[9]

Formal training has generally been thought to give something called mental discipline, though the claim may be doubted. It surely did not get at the source of power. After a time came reform in elementary education, and reform has spread to some extent beyond this limit. A part of education has been remodeled according to sound educational science, while a part is still more or less in the shackles planned by Quintilian and forged by his successors.

Ancient and modern oratory.— The Romans made the orator the supreme specialist, the only one who really made himself tell on the world. We have changed matters. The qualities of the orator are being added to real specialists and investigators in all lines, who must not merely make themselves felt by what they discover and know, but must win a hearing by ability to express and to move men in their special fields. On the other hand the orator does not have the same importance, nor hold the same relative position, as that claimed by the orators of Cicero and Quintilian. In one sense the orator's art has been enlarged; in another sense it has been dissipated; or rather it has been divided and its parts scattered over the world of thought and action, each part having grown into something greater than the original whole.

Post-Quintilian development.— We have now before us the first fully developed secondary school of which we have

[9] Now and then appeared a man or school of a different temper. Bernard, Da Feltre, Montaigne, Ascham, Comenius, Milton broke away in a degree from this formal education, but secondary education as a rule remained fast.

detailed record. Though, as we have seen, there were other well-developed secondary schools in earlier times, no complete account has come down to us,— little more in fact than some more or less general statements. Then, too, they lacked that purposeful practical environment that gave peculiar force and momentum to the Roman school, and they belonged to a people who were far from being practical organizers.

Public secondary education.— It remained to make the secondary school public. The movement began at an early date,— about Quintilian's time,[10] when Grammar Schools were already widely scattered. At that time some schools were supported by the state, some by municipalities, some by private funds, while the wandering teacher and private tutor still plied their professions.[11] By 425 A. D. an edict made the state sole authority and forbade the opening of schools by unauthorized persons.[12] We are not however to suppose that all schools were state schools in a literal sense, simply that all were under general state supervision, some in one status, some in another.

Decline of the secondary school.— But the growth of imperialism took away some of the intense motives that ruled in earlier education.[13] Rhetoric was thrown back on itself; it became an end rather than a means. Form became the prominent feature. The Roman Grammar School, like many other civic and social achievements, was declining. A weak institution would have suffered permanent decline. Not so this one. It suffered eclipse, but it still lived.

The source of the modern secondary school.— A real secondary school tradition had thus been started. Through strong organization and powerful influences it eventually became so firmly fixed that the secondary school described in this and the preceding chapter became a dominating model for centuries and a permanent influence. From it modern secondary school influences take their rise. The line of descent

[10] Suetonius, Vesp., XVIII (Monroe, *op. cit.*, 400).

[11] Pliny, Epist., III, 3; IV, 13 (quoted by Laurie); Laurie, *op. cit.*, 420 ff. See Monroe, *op. cit.*, 377 ff.

[12] We find some reference to jobbery in spending public money. Politics entered the schools early.

[13] Cicero, Brutus, 96-7; Dill, Roman Soc. in the Last Cent. of the West. Emp.

of the secondary school passes directly to Rome. It is probable that the organization of the secondary school there,— the enterprising and vigorous handling of the curriculum, and the prosecution of method,— had more to do with defining secondary education for many centuries than any other school agency whatever, and for obvious reasons. The secondary school plan, as finally developed and organized there during this period, ruled the West exclusively down to the time when it had lost its practical nature and Hecker, Francke and their followers began to lead a movement for a new practical curriculum. It continued as the predominating influence long afterwards. This does not mean that Rome originated all, or even many, details, but she took up the tradition, put her stamp upon it, and held it so long and impressed it so vividly that her influence was paramount. Roman pedagogy at its best, Quintilian's pedagogy, found lodgment in many of the great teachers who followed him. The Grammar Schools themselves, many of them, did not die; they were transformed. Though lost to sight, perhaps, they influenced the structures which were built over or into them. Some of the Cathedral Schools of later times could have disclosed the Roman model to one who cared to look within the shell. More than this, they could have shown a continuous tradition from Roman times.

The Roman Grammar School was the strongest moulding force the secondary school had, in form, curriculum, and method, down to the middle of the nineteenth century.

APPENDIX I

A quotation from Nettleship[14] will serve as an introduction to an outline of Quintilian's Institutes: —

A Roman Ideal.—"To be a great statesman at Rome it was necessary, besides being a soldier, to be an orator; a master not only of the cultivated style which would appeal to the forty or fifty educated senators and equites who might meet to try a case in a court of law, but of the broader effects which alone could make an impression upon the great contiones. Oratory (not rhetoric) bade fair, in the hands of a comprehensive genius like Cicero, to absorb the whole field of knowledge and education. To Cicero, if we may trust him in the De Oratore, knowledge is the necessary condition of eloquence, but knowledge must be subservient to eloquence. One can hardly complain of him

[14] Lectures and Essays, Second Series, by H. Nettleship, p. 67.

for adopting a point of view which, after all, was the prevalent one with the mass of educated men in classical antiquity. For, with them, literature was subordinate to life. The idea of investigation, of painful study, undertaken merely for the sake of ascertaining the truth in regions of fact such as history or natural science, was comparatively unfamiliar to the literary aristocracies who ruled the ancient Græco-Roman world."

APPENDIX II

AN OUTLINE OF QUINTILIAN'S COURSE OF TRAINING FOR THE ORATOR, OR THE EDUCATED MAN OF ROME

Prefatory Note: The aim in giving so full an outline is to provide a convenient and authoritative résumé of Quintilian's great work and thus make his rather formidable treatise, twelve books in length, more accessible to students of pedagogy.

The whole outline deals with the secondary school, but the latter part would seem to apply to what corresponds to the upper forms of the typical English secondary schools of fifty years ago,[15] the last years of whose curriculum we are inclined to compare with early college work.

The end in view.— In stating his aim we find Quintilian's statements practically identical with Cicero's, for the most part. The end in view is the perfect orator, "who cannot exist unless he is a good man."[16]

Qualifications of the Orator.—"Let the orator therefore be such a man as may be called truly wise, not blameless in morals only, for that in my opinion, though some disagree with me, is not enough, but accomplished also in science and in every qualification in speaking: a character such as perhaps no man ever was."[17]

Quintilian in another passage lays stress on having ideals embraced in the heart and thinking in conformity with them, and thus having a very practical hold on them.[18]

2. **Four periods in his scheme.**— As to the *grading* and *curriculum*, Quintilian divides his course of training into four parts,— 1, ante-school training; 2, elementary education; 3, secondary education; 4, higher or professional education. In making these divisions it is to be noted that Quintilian does not distinguish by ages. At the very outset he shows that he has no sympathy with those who would make artificial divisions between parts of school life, for he combats the idea that seven should be the age for beginning school work. He says there is

[15] Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and others of that famous group of "Great Public Schools."

[16] Preface to his Institutes, 9.

[17] Do., 18.

[18] For other strong statements of Quintilian as to ideals see Chapter IX, pp. 130–31.

no such beginning, that school life represents a continuity; and again he says that the time for sending to the higher school is when the pupil is qualified; he may enter even before finishing the lower secondary school.

As to the extent of education in the community, Quintilian says nothing. He does not mention the education of girls, if we except the fact that he emphasizes educated parents. But this is natural from the nature of the case. He is writing of the education of the orator and his end colors his whole scheme, but we may easily apply the most essential features of his earlier course to girls, who were readily accorded education at Rome.

Curriculum for each period.— Coming to details of the curriculum, then, we first take up the study and training of the

Ante-school period which is just as systematically provided for as any, through the careful selection of attendants. The chief lines of training here are language (Greek and Latin), writing, ethics, and general information. Greek, he says, should come before Latin, because it is the original of the Latin, and because the boy will learn Latin any way. But Latin is to follow apace, so that the exclusive practice of either may not "impede the other."[19]

The elementary school period[20] seems to continue the work already laid out. Quintilian's efforts are directed especially to two points: 1, a discussion of the question of public and private schools, in which he emphatically decides for the public school with a proper number of pupils, as best for both pupil and teacher; 2, a consideration of management and instruction.[21] This school takes the boy till he is about twelve.

The secondary school,— junior section. The Grammar School.[22] We may fairly conclude that this school took the boy about the beginning of his twelfth year and kept him till about the beginning of his sixteenth year, though Quintilian has no regard for years; he measures by qualifications. In quality and scope the work seems to correspond fairly well with that of the last grammar school years and the first high school years with us, if we take into account the difference in the educational development of the two epochs.

The central subject is grammar,[23] in the ancient sense. We do not

[19] Quintilian, *op. cit.*, I, 1: 12–14.

[20] Quintilian's arguments here are interesting and thorough. See I, 2.

[21] See later pages under *method.*

[22] A typical secondary school of the European type. Compare the English Grammar Schools of to-day, whose curricula are more extended than those of our High Schools, providing for both younger and older pupils.

[23] The old name for grammar was literatura, showing that the subject included something besides the abstract technique of language. The grammar pupil, as the most vital part of his subject, took language in the concrete as well, i.e., literature.

need to come down to modern times to get a good idea of concentration, for the organization of Quintilian's curriculum, with grammar as the core, gives us an excellent example, as far as subjects of study are concerned. Grammar here includes first, the technicalities we usually associate with the subject,—sounds, divisions, relations, limitations, modifications, derivatives, and historical changes of letters; second, the inflexional and formative elements in a language, *i.e.*, all the technicalities of words, making a most abstract and abstruse study; third, all facts and principles associated with the art of "speaking and writing correctly," and thus syntax and composition. But it is much larger than all this. As a basis for composition it carries with it literary study, or, as Quintilian calls it, the "illustration of the poets." This is itself a very broad study, for it gives a knowledge of words and matter, structure and style, and involves knowledge of philology, music (meter and rhythm), and history,[24] in order to explain allusions or otherwise elucidate the text. Such an intensive study under the direction of the master of grammar constantly stimulates thought along various lines. "Grammar" in Rome even extended its limits beyond this and assumed some functions connected with the theory and practice of eloquence.[25] Legitimately this phase of grammar must be regarded as belonging to a separate subject, the second fundamental of the secondary curriculum, *elementary rhetoric* (except in so far as it comes in incidentally in connection with the study of literature just referred to). Rhetoric and grammar are naturally accompanied or supplemented by some elementary work in *elocution*, including articulation, pronunciation, and expression; for after learning to "distinguish words and meanings," the boy must learn "to express meaning." In connection with this literary and linguistic study comes a *carefully chosen course of reading*, both Greek and Latin, in prose and poetry, to furnish models. This course is to be selected with special reference to ethical values at first, till morals are formed. Quintilian believes that *music*[26] is closely related to oratory, that it is calculated to cultivate the voice and give form for language and gesture for the body. So he naturally makes it a prominent part of his curriculum. Wholesome, manly music is his choice, "those strains in which the praises of heroes were sung and which heroes themselves sang; not the sounds of psalteries and languishing lutes, but the knowledge of the principles of the art that is of the highest efficacy in exciting and allaying the passions." *Geometry* is chosen as another essential study in his school, both for its subject matter and for its training value, for he believes that it excites the thinking powers, sharpens the intellect, quickens perception, affords training in logic, and at the same time gives useful knowledge that delivers one from embarrassing errors. It is interesting to note that under geometry Quintilian includes "*numbers*" and astronomy.[27]

[24] I, 8.
[25] II, 1.
[26] I, 10.
[27] I, 10.

But Quintilian lays most stress, as we shall find, on writing (composition),[28] as a means of forming his ideal. His elementary course includes grammatical drill, reproduction, paraphrasing, and narrative work.

Finally comes some elementary training in *delivery*[29] (elocution), involving rules for pronunciation, expression, grace and propriety of motion, but not theatrical effects. It thus brings in physical instruction in the palæstra for graceful carriage, and some training under an actor for elocutionary purposes.

Secondary School,— second period. The School of Rhetoric.[30] The youth entered this higher school sometime about the beginning of his fifteenth or sixteenth year. This and the quality and content of the curriculum offered seem to show that we have here at least two years corresponding to the later part of our high school course of training. As already said Quintilian does not care for fixed limits of age. He complains that pupils go to the School of Rhetoric too late, the grammar masters having usurped some of the functions of the teachers of rhetoric, so that old bounds between the two schools have been removed, or at least disturbed. Thus teachers of the higher courses now confine themselves only to a part of their legitimate work, and pupils are kept in the Grammar School too long. He would have each school keep its proper functions.[31]

The School of Rhetoric provides advanced training in composition and delivery to supply a broad and practical foundation for the public activities of the orator. It provides also special memory training which Quintilian emphasizes particularly in his school plans. Quintilian lays out a very inclusive course in *composition,* in which he sets the roots of eloquence.[32] Beginning with simple narration he advances to somewhat technical forms of composition that have to do with the final aims of the orator. He cordially indorses Cicero's thought as to the relation of writing to oratory: —

"In writing are the roots, in writing are the foundation of eloquence; by writing resources are stored up, as it were, in a secret repository, whence they may be drawn forth for sudden emergencies or as cir-

[28] I, 9.

[29] I, 11.

[30] See Book II and following books, especially X.

With Quintilian's informal grading it is difficult to draw the lines in secondary education. The previous period (*Grammar-school period*) would seem in part to include training corresponding to that of the lower "forms" of the English Public School. For the rest it was secondary. The Rhetorical School again should not be regarded in all its parts as beyond the secondary mark. It evidently included both secondary and higher training.

[31] It is interesting to find one school usurping the functions of another. It was as vicious then as ever to imagine that higher grade work was higher work and carried more distinction with it.

[32] II, 4. Conf. X, 5.

cumstances require. Let us above all things get strength, which may suffice for the labor of our contests and may not be exhausted by us." [33]

In writing Quintilian emphasizes pure Latin; care of words and utmost care of matter; the significance, form, and measure of words; adaptation of words; expression, in which, he says, lie the faults and excellencies of oratory; and arrangement, in regard to which he aptly suggests that the order of words, the typical divisions of the oration, and the effective marshalling of all depend upon the situation.[34] Naturally in connection with this work in composition, as in his Grammar School program, he has a *wide course in reading*,[35] including both Greek and Roman writers,—poets, historians, philosophers, orators. Here he gives characterizations of each writer in his list and explains the limitations in the orator's use of poetry and history. For training in *delivery* [36] he provides a graduated course,—simple declamation, fully prepared beforehand and growing in difficulty, half extempore speaking, *i.e.*, speaking after premeditation, and finally extempore speaking. In this connection he suggests exhaustive training as to voice and gesture, in which he again includes work with the actor and in gymnasium or palæstra. This is the climax; it represents the completion of the orator's development. In this and in all the training of the Rhetor School he significantly urges vigorous preparation for what is needed in the Forum, the center of interest for every active Roman. As to *memory training* [37] Quintilian is interesting, suggestive and enthusiastic. It is a favorite topic with him. But he does not favor an artificial system of mnemonics like that of Simonides. He suggests rather a simple, common sense plan in which he lays stress on order, arrangement, and method (elsewhere defined).

Now we may justly assume that the more elementary parts of this curriculum were distinctly secondary, occupying the secondary years that have been referred to as belonging to the rhetorical school, because it took adolescents that had barely entered their sixteenth year.[38] The more intensive and technical work of the different courses that have been outlined belonged to what we may call higher education, and to them were added *psychology*, or the part of it that has to do with the emotions,[39] *philosophy*,[40] a three-fold subject, including "natural philosophy," ethics, and dialectics, all of which Quintilian believed useful and even necessary for the end in view, and *civil law*.[41]

[33] X, 3: 1–3.
[34] II, 13; VII, 1; VIII, Introd., 17–32; X, 1: 5–15.
[35] X, 1; see XII, 2: 29.
[36] XI, 3.
[37] See XI, 2, et al.
[38] See above, p. 142. The typical European secondary school differed and differs very materially, not to say radically, from the American High School in age-groupings.
[39] VI; XII, 2.
[40] XII, 2.
[41] XII, 3.

Such is the outline of the different schools which Quintilian includes in his scheme of education. We come now to some points as to method.

Principles and methods.— Where Cicero is weak Quintilian is naturally strong. In method his books are noticeably rich and afford scope for an interesting and suggestive study. For clearness it is well to take up the four periods separately, making four groups of suggestions as they occur in the several sections of the work dealing with the different parts of school life. It will be interesting to see how, when, and how often Quintilian makes his various pedagogical observations. Later the matter can be condensed into a general outline that will give his main principles. If some of the statements appear not to bear strictly on method, they are at least suggestive in that direction.

I. The ante-school period.— *Principles and method.*

1. Memory:— "The chief symptom of ability in children is memory." —"The elements of learning depend on memory alone, which not only exists in children, but is at that time of life even most tenacious." "It is almost the only faculty, in early years, that can be improved by the aid of teachers."[42]

Imitation, in Quintilian's judgment, is the foundation of method. Memory is the chief stay of method,— a growing means of carrying it out. He naturally has something worth reading as to the cultivation of this power. Here is a brief summary of his suggestions:—

(a) The fundamental condition of good memory power is good health.[43] (b) The second condition is good training.

Memory may be trained by learning a piece by parts; by learning from the same tablets on which one writes; by learning aloud for the double stimulus of speaking and hearing; by learning from another's reading, with frequent tests to avoid slips; by "division and arrangement." He assigns a minimum value of systems of mnemonics and a good deal of value, for certain purposes, to more or less natural associations with signs and symbols.[43] The "only and great art of memory . . . is exercise and labor." By beginning in childhood with a small but interesting memory task, increasing it a little each day, and keeping up the exercise persistently through different periods of life in serious tasks, the orator may accomplish almost "inconceivable results."[44]

2. The child is imitative. Habits formed early are permanent. "The next symptom (of ability) is imitation."[45] . . . "A great portion of art consists in imitation."[45] Everywhere this is his basal principle in method. It will be found giving character and direction to the work of each period in his system. Quintilian follows his principle out logi-

[42] I, 1:19, 36; 3:1.
[43] XI, 2:35.
[44] XI, 2:27 ff., 41.
[45] I, 3:1; X, 2:1. What is said in the following paragraphs on this topic comes from statements found in different parts of the Institutes. There will be specific additions as the different periods are taken up.

cally; for he insists upon great care in choosing those who are to take charge of the child,— attendants, nurses, slaves, pædagogi, for whom good language, good morals, and some knowledge are prime essentials. Parents are to have as much learning as possible.[46] All the subject matter of the boy's course is to be selected wisely to furnish suitable models for developing vocabulary, expression, style in speaking and writing, and substantial moral qualities.[47] The principle would also prescribe equal care in selecting the living model whom, according to the old Roman custom, the boy was to choose and follow for the purpose of perfecting himself in the art of oratory.[48]

Quintilian, however, does not have in mind any narrow or formal principle. Models are not to be merely copied, but studied with a view to getting at their excellencies and defects and using them as a basis for modifying, adding, and improving, and thus for developing independent power. Judgment and discretion are to be superior to all rules and models, and Quintilian's methods are calculated to develop these qualities.[49] While therefore the principle provides for training the boy in the best the world has produced and thus tends to perpetuate modes and styles in oratory, it provides also for judgment and originality as modifying factors.

"If it is not allowable to add, . . . how can we ever hope to see the complete orator? . . . Even those who do not aim at the highest excellence should rather try to excel than merely follow their predecessors." Otherwise, he points out, one will fall behind his ideal . . . "He who shall add to these borrowed qualities excellencies of his own, so as to supply what is deficient in his models and to retrench what is redundant, will be the complete orator whom we desire to see."[50]

It is however imitation of the simple sort, child imitation, that he applies in the early school. Later schools built up judgment and originality.

3. Quintilian has high regard for talent and natural aptitudes. But he has a higher regard for the magic power of training.[51]

4. Those of tender years are not to be urged severely, and the principle of amusement in instruction and that of emulation and rewards are to be used. Having provided formal instruction for these early years, he must make special provisions lest it miscarry.[52]

"It will be necessary above all things to take care lest the child should conceive a dislike to the application which he cannot yet love, and continue to dread the bitterness which he has once tasted, even beyond the years of infancy."

[46] I, 1.
[47] I, 8; II, 5; X, 1, 2, 5; XII, 4.
[48] X, 5: 19, 20.
[49] II, 13; X, 2.
[50] X, 2: 9, 28.
[51] I, 3: 1; II, 4: 9 ff.; 8: 5.
[52] I, 1: 20.

5. Quintilian gives an important place to the physical. It is the highway to success and successful method.

"It is common alike to learning by heart and to composition that good health, excellent digestion, and a mind free from other subjects of care contribute greatly to success in them." [53]

And, speaking of the work of older students particularly, he says,

"But in every kind of study, and especially in such nocturnal application, good health and that which is the prime means of securing it, regularity of life, are necessary, since we devote the time appointed us by nature for sleep and the recruiting of our strength to the most intense labor; but on this labor we must not bestow more than what is too much for sleep and what will not leave too little for it."

6. Coming to the matter of the child's school work, we find that Quintilian would teach reading [54] by the time-honored synthetic method, though he makes some improvement on it. The common practice was to learn the names and order of letters before their shapes. He advocates learning appearances and names first. Imitation and tracing are the means, and children may use ivory letters in play. Syllables follow, and they are to be learned by heart, even the most difficult. "There is no short way," he says.[55] Then comes the formation of words from syllables, and phrases from words, and so on to reading. Training in pronunciation is to include practice in hard combinations of sounds that remind us of the old "Peter Piper." Quintilian is very careful as to progress in reading. He urges teachers to avoid haste, so as to prevent interruption, hesitancy and distrust. A good reader must be able to attend to the words at hand and look ahead at the same time. This must become a habit and the habit requires slow and sure work.[56]

In writing, the tracing method is to be followed. Quintilian lays stress on rapid writing. So the subject is to receive a different kind of attention from that which had been customary in Rome.

"For, as writing itself is the principal thing in our studies, and that by which alone sure proficiency, resting on the deepest roots, is secured, a too slow way of writing retards thought, a rude and confused hand cannot be read." [57]

But correlation relieves some of the abstractness in his system, for rich subject matter is to be chosen for writing and memory work and also for reading, giving good words and thoughts and useful knowledge.

[53] XI, 2:35; X, 3:26.

[54] I, 1:24 ff.

We must remind ourselves here that Greek comes before Latin in the curriculum, though it precedes only by a little.

[55] There is, however, an easier and more pedagogical way.

[56] I, 1:33.

[57] I, 1:28.

II. The elementary school period.— *Principles and method.*

1. The public school is preferred for pedagogical reasons; it makes, he believes, better pupils and better teachers.[58] This is surely an element of method; for the whole environment is to be considered.

2. Here again great care is to be exercised in choosing teachers. As to the attitude of teachers, instruction is to be guided by affection more than by duty.[59] The management of the school is to be definite, systematic, and impressive, with strong moral results,[60] but Quintilian would have no corporal punishment. Strong and sane arguments against it are given in one of his finest passages.[61]

3. The teacher must study the pupil, to learn his capacities and disposition. This evidently gives the basis for another fundamental and far-reaching principle that is implied or expressed in various passages,— that amount and quality of work, the qualities of the teacher, and his method of teaching should be adapted to the capacity, development, and disposition of the pupil, as well as to the general qualities of boyhood.[62]

4. Relaxation is necessary. Quintilian cordially advocates it within due bounds.[61] In this connection he says significantly: "In their plays also their moral dispositions show themselves more plainly."[63]

These are general principles of method. As to special method, since the subjects of the ante-school period still continue and the two periods really make one, we may assume that the methods in the special subjects were similar to those before described.

III. The Grammar School period. The secondary school — first part.— *Principles and method.* 1. After learning to distinguish words and meanings comes learning to express meaning. Here Quintilian wishes pieces of worth and of benefit to the reader to be chosen. He calls for care as to ethical values, advising that doubtful works be postponed till morals are formed. The value of content is thus suggested, apart from the formal training in the subject.

"Those writings should be the subjects of lectures for boys which best nourish the mind and enlarge the thinking powers; for reading

[58] I, 2.

[59] I, 2: 15.

[60] This appears elsewhere.

[61] I, 3: 14 ff.

That moral training is not weak or superficial and loses nothing from the absence of corporal punishment the following passage clearly shows: —

"A child is as early as possible therefore to be admonished that he must do nothing too eagerly, nothing dishonestly, nothing without self-control; and we must always keep in mind the maxim of Vergil, "*Adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.*" I, 3: 13.

[62] I, 2: 28; 3: 6. See also II, 2: 14; 4: 4 ff.; 5: 1; 6: 4; X, 2: 20; and especially II, 8.

[63] I, 3: 8.

other books that relate merely to erudition advanced life will afford sufficient time." [64]

All this shows true pedagogical insight. It is the period for ideals. Quintilian, true to principles like these, is very selective in the books he recommends.

2. On the formal side, literature is to be taken up so as to give a many-sided study, including interpretation, analysis, grammatical points, figures, different significations of words, disposition of parts, adaptation of literary treatment to the requirements of the subject, and allusions.[65] Pronunciation and expression are to receive attention in reading, the actor supplying some instruction here. Gesture and general carriage are also important, and here he recommends the use of the palæstra.[66]

3. Composition work involves the telling of the stories of the poets and the fables of Æsop, the paraphrasing of poetry, narratives from poets, sentence work, and drill (by sentences) on inflections.[67]

4. Following his main thought that the orator is trained through writing and speaking, Quintilian provides for both methods here, as in later courses. The pupil is to "speak pieces," portions of speeches that he has committed to memory, "in a loud voice and exactly as he will have to plead," all this under a "skilful tutor." [68] It would also appear that he is to be trained in oral reading, using both poetry and prose from a selected list suitable for young boys.[69]

In addition to these central subjects there are other studies, correlated or supplementary, that with them make an extended curriculum. They are history, music, and geometry, as we have already seen.[70] But Quintilian occupies himself in discussing the value of these subjects rather than in giving details of method, except for showing that he would teach history through correlation. As to the whole plan for this period however he makes the reassuring statement that there is no danger of crowding the curriculum, for the time is long and it is easy to take many studies at once, especially as "variety refreshes and recruits the mind." Not all the minutiæ are to be given, but more general knowledge. And yet the curriculum is not a soft one. It requires strong, patient work. Quintilian thinks however that it will appeal to such as have a genuine interest in "eloquence, the queen of the world," not a mere fondness for the returns that their studies will bring them.[71]

[64] I, 8:8.
[65] I, 8:13 ff.
[66] I, 11.
[67] I, 9.
[68] X, 11:14.
[69] I, 8.
[70] 1:10. Probably geography correlated with literature is also included in his plan.
[71] I, 12:16 ff.

IV. The secondary school — second part. — *Principles and method.*

1. The very best teachers are to be selected at the outset. He uses these significant words as to some of the needed qualifications: —

"I do not consider him who is unwilling to teach little things in the number of preceptors; but I argue that the ablest teachers can teach little things best, if they will; first, because it is likely that he who excels others in eloquence has gained the most accurate knowledge of the means by which men attain eloquence; secondly, because method, which, with the best qualified instructors, is always plainest, is of great efficacy in teaching; and lastly, because no man rises to such a height in greater things that lesser fade entirely from his view." [72]

Morals are of prime consideration now, and are to be investigated with special care in the case of these teachers, not because he does not consider that the same examination should be made, "and with the utmost care, in regard to other teachers,— but because the very age of the pupils makes attention to the matter all the more necessary; for boys are consigned to these professors when almost grown up and continue their studies under them even after they become men; and greater care must in consequence be adopted in regard to them," so as to secure each age against the dangers peculiar to it. The master must be an example, and he must "regulate also, by severity of discipline, the conduct of those who come to receive his instructions." He is to take the attitude of a parent, and pupils are to look to the teacher as to a parent. He must take the proper mean between austerity and an affability that is too easy, so as to avoid both dislike and contempt.[73]

"Let him discourse frequently on what is honorable and good, for the oftener he admonishes, the more seldom will he have to chastise. Let him not be of an angry temper, and yet not a conniver at what ought to be corrected. Let him be plain in his mode of teaching and patient of labor, but rather diligent in exacting tasks than fond of giving them of excessive length. Let him reply readily to those who put questions to him, and question of his own accord those who do not. In commending the exercises of his pupils let him be neither niggardly nor lavish; for the one quality begets dislike of labor, and the other self-complacency. In amending what requires correction let him not be harsh, and least of all reproachful; for that very circumstance, that some tutors blame as if they hated, deters many young men from their proposed course of study. Let him every day say something, and even much, which, when pupils hear, they may carry away with them, for though he may point out to them in their course of reading plenty of examples for their imitation, yet the living voice, as it is called, feeds the mind more nutritiously, and especially the voice of the teacher whom his pupils, if they are but rightly instructed, both love and reverence. How much more readily we imitate those whom we like can scarcely be expressed." [74]

[72] II, 3:5.
[73] II, 2:2.
[74] II, 2:5 f.

It would be hard to find a passage of this length packed with more good pedagogy.

Again he says, in a chapter in which he writes delightfully on the relations between pupil and teacher,—

"Neither can eloquence come to its growth unless by mutual agreement between him who communicates and him who receives." [75]

The teacher is to show his worth and his appreciation of the pupil's position also in another way,—by a plain and simple manner of teaching, so that the learner may not be deterred by complicated presentation, and thus lose interest in his study.[76]

These suggestions of Quintilian not only tell us about the teacher, but also give us much information about his method. Quintilian certainly has a clearly cut idea of the instructor who is to come up to his standard. The qualities of the secondary school teacher might be summed up in the two words, learning and sympathy.

2. On the part of the pupil he chooses a modest attitude and disapproves of demonstration, "standing and showing exultation and giving applause," to be "repaid in kind." [77]

3. In the direction of individual work we may note the following points, most of them suggested by passages already quoted:—We are to understand the nature of the child at work; to suit instruction to individuals; to separate ages; to adapt training to different ages; to observe differences in ability, ascertain the direction in each case, and direct accordingly,

"because nature attains greater power when seconded by culture; and he that is led contrary to nature cannot make due progress in the studies for which he is unfit, and makes those talents, for the exercise of which he seemed born, weaker by neglecting to cultivate them." [78]

But Quintilian defines his thought on such topics as follows:—

"To distinguish peculiarities of talent," he says, "is absolutely necessary; and to make use of particular studies to suit them is what no man would discountenance. For one youth will be fitter for the study of history than another; one will be qualified for writing poetry, another for the study of the law, and some perhaps fit only to be sent into the fields. The teacher of rhetoric will decide in accordance with these peculiarities, just as the master of the palæstra will make one of his pupils a runner, another a boxer, etc.

"But he who is destined for public speaking must strive to excel, not merely in one accomplishment, but in all the accomplishments that are requisite for that art, even though some of them may seem too difficult for him when he is learning them. . . . Yet I would not fight against nature; for I do not think that any good quality that is innate should

[75] II, 9:3. Another significant passage is found in II, 4:12.
[76] VIII, Introduction, 1–5.
[77] II, 2:9–10, 11.
[78] II, 8:5; II, 4:9–14.

be detracted, but that whatever is inactive or deficient should be invigorated or supplied.[79]

It is to be noted that Quintilian is not speaking of general talent here, but of interests. We are likely to confuse ideas if we do not discriminate in this way. We have already referred to Quintilian's creed as to talent. As to the boy's interests, modern pedagogy, as far as education is concerned, would lay more stress upon acquired interests than upon natural interests. One cannot determine his real interests,[80] nor detect the direction of his best ability, till he has come into contact in a genuine educational way with many things. Education, to be truly selective, must select from the multitude, not from the few. Hence the multitude must go to school.

4. So much for general observations. We come now to some pedagogical directions as to a special subject,— composition, that we may with advantage remind ourselves is the key-subject in his curriculum.

(a) The teacher is to begin with that to which the pupil has learned something similar under the grammarians (*i.e.*, in the previous school).[81]

(b) His feeling for the boy is shown by his attempt to meet his qualities. He has the real boy in mind with his crudeness and his real characteristics.[82] Here is a characteristic passage: —

"That temper in boys will afford me little hope in which mental effort is prematurely restrained by judgment. I like what is produced to be extremely copious, profuse even beyond the limits of propriety. Years will greatly reduce superfluity; judgment will smooth away much of it; something will be worn off, as it were, by use, if there be but metal from which something may be hewn and polished off, and such metal there will be, if we do not make the plate too thin at first, so that deep cutting may break it. . . .

"Above all therefore, and especially for boys, a dry master is to be avoided, not less than a dry soil void of all moisture for plants that are still tender. Under the influence of such a tutor they at once become dwarfish; . . . while they think it sufficient to be free from fault, they fall into the fault of being free from all merit. Let not even maturity itself therefore come too fast." [83]

The principle for guiding correction of exercises with reference to different ages is well indicated in passages quoted on earlier pages.[84]

(c) Care, not haste, is the desideratum in this work of composition.

(d) Poetical narrative came in the previous school; now comes historical narrative, which has, he says, more of truth, more of sub-

[79] II, 8:6–10. Compare this with Cicero's view as to the relative worth of genius and diligence,— De Or. II, 35.

[80] Note also that Quintilian lays stress on culture and emphasizes practice. His book is full of passages suggesting these things.

[81] II, 4:1.

[82] II, 4:4, 5.

[83] II, 4:7–8.

[84] I, 3:6; II, 4:12 ff. See also II, 6:4 ff.

stance. Good grading is a part of good method, and Quintilian is strong here as elsewhere. From simple narrative he proceeds through various stages of argumentative and judicial writing, including briefs, much of it of a simple type, to be compared with the average high school senior's efforts of the present day. The work requires close study and very definite training. That a considerable part of it is elementary and preparatory will be seen in this significant passage, which occurs in connection with his description of the first stage of writing: —

"There will be a proper time," he says, "for acquiring facility of speech; . . . but in the mean time it will be sufficient, if a boy with all his care and with the utmost application of which his age is capable, can write something tolerable. To this practice let him accustom himself and make it natural to him. He only will succeed in attaining the eminence at which we aim, or the point next below it, who shall learn to speak correctly before he learns to speak rapidly." [85]

Perfection of style is not the object at this stage.

With writing is to go practice in the oral reading of history and speeches, with a careful study of passages from the points of view of language, rhetoric, and literature. Quintilian thinks the teacher would contribute much to the advancement of pupils,

"if, as the explanation of poets is required from teachers of grammar, so he (the rhetoric teacher) in like manner would exercise the pupils under his care in the reading of history, and even still more in that of speeches." But long custom, he tells us, has established a different mode of teaching. For himself, however, he says, and this is an indication of the greatness of the man, "though I should make a new discovery ever so late, I should not be ashamed to recommend it for the future." [86]

(e) What Quintilian advises in the study of the selections is finely indicated in the following passages: —[87]

"But to point out the beauties of authors and, if occasion ever presents itself, their faults, is eminently consistent with that profession and engagement by which he (the teacher of rhetoric) offers himself to the public as a master of eloquence, especially as I do not require such toil from teachers that they should call their pupils to their lap and labor at the reading of whatever book each of them may fancy. For to me it seems easier as well as more advantageous that the master, after calling for silence, should appoint some one pupil to read, (and it will be best that this duty should be imposed on them in turns), that they may thus accustom themselves to clear pronunciation; and then, after explaining the cause for which the oration was composed, (for so that which is said will be better understood), that he should leave nothing unnoticed which is important to be remarked, either in thought or language, or in argument and rhetorical features for forensic purposes."

[85] II, 4: 15–17.
[86] II, 5.
[87] II, 5: 5 ff.

"In regard to style, he should notice any expression that is peculiarly appropriate, elegant, or sublime; when the amplification deserves praise; what quality is opposed to it; what phrases are happily metaphorical, what figures of speech are used, what part of the composition is smooth and polished, and yet manly and vigorous."

"Nor will the preceptor be under obligation merely to teach these things, but frequently to ask questions upon them, and try the judgment of his pupils. Thus carelessness will not come upon them while they listen, nor will the instructions that shall be given fail to enter their ears; and they will at the same time be conducted to the end which is sought in this exercise, namely that they themselves may conceive and understand."

This is a lesson in rhetoric, as well as in literature and composition. It is concrete, correlated rhetoric,— rhetoric of the best and most educative sort, because it shows it in its natural environment, is practical, not theoretical. Quintilian well says,—

"I venture to say that this sort of diligent exercise will contribute more to the improvement of students than all the treatises of all the rhetoricians that ever wrote; which doubtless, however, are of considerable use, but their scope is more general; and how indeed can they go into all kinds of questions that arise almost every day? . . . In almost every art precepts are of much less avail than practical experiments." [88]

Here again, then, Quintilian, true to his principles, provides for a study of literature as an essential part of his method, which includes imitation, practice, and the exercise of judgment for the purpose of modifying, adapting, adding to, and even exceeding, one's models. He shows his practical bent and sound judgment, which are everywhere manifest in his book, by advising the best authors from the beginning:

"I would choose the clearest in style and most intelligible, recommending Livy, for instance, to be read by boys, rather than Sallust, who, however, is the greater historian."

Pupils at this age are more likely to look at externals; hence the need of intelligent care in selecting. As to style, he recommends, for early years till tastes are formed, something between the crudeness and dryness of early writers and the florid style of some of the later ones. When the danger period is past, however, he recommends them

"to read not only the ancients (from whom, if a solid and manly force of thought be adopted, while the rust of a rude age is cleared off, our present style will receive additional grace), but also the writers of the present day, in whom there is much merit." The latter must be selected with care. "Who they are is not for everybody to decide. We may even err with greater safety in regard to the ancients; and I would therefore defer the reading of the moderns, that imitation may not go before judgment." [89]

[88] II, 5: 14.

[89] II, 5: 19 ff.

(f) To return to writing, there are two general modes of procedure in giving the training in this work that forms his chief means for developing the orator: 1. Directions with illustrations by the master before writing; 2, directions (outlines) before writing, with additions and emendations after the writing. He believes that both modes have advantages but he thinks that,

"if it should be necessary to follow only one of the two, it will be of greater service to point out the right way first than to recall those who have gone astray from their errors." [90]

(g) Quintilian deals very discriminatingly with "rules." The pupil is to be a thorough master of principles and details. But rules must not be abused. Care must be exercised not to make them an end. Judgment and proportion are to influence in the matter. Principles must become a part of one's own nature, and one must consult his own personality apart from instruction and rules.[91]

"He must exert his own powers and acquire his own method; he must not merely look to principles, but must have them in readiness to act upon them, not as if they had been taught him, but as if they had been born in him. For art can easily show a way, if there be one; but art has done its duty when it sets the resources of eloquence before us; it is for us to know how to use them." [92]

Practice is to make a kind of intuition for work that will obviate constant reference to rules.

One of Quintilian's most striking passages, in which he criticises some of the education of his day (easily paralleled in modern, and even in present-day education), puts the matter very clearly: —

"In the meantime I would not have young men think themselves sufficiently accomplished, if they have learned by heart some of those little books on rhetoric which have been handed about. The art of speaking depends on great labor, constant study, varied exercise, repeated trials, the deepest sagacity, and the readiest judgment. But it is assisted by rules, provided that they point out a fair road and not a single wheel rut, from which he who thinks it unlawful to decline must be contented with the slow progress of those who walk on ropes. . . . The work of eloquence is extensive and of infinite variety, presenting something new almost daily; nor will all that is possible ever have been said about it." [93]

(h) Akin to this, but from a slightly different direction, is his statement as to the relative importance of some of the elements of

[90] II, 6: 2–6.
[91] II, 13; VIII, Introd., 28; VII, 10: 14. Order, judgment, method are three favorite general rules; but he is not speaking of rules of this kind. See also page 153.
[92] VII, 10: 14, 15.
[93] II, 13: 15–17.

oratory. He recommends, as already noted, "care about words, and the utmost care about matter."[94] He seems to imply that there is a tendency to emphasize *words* too much and to neglect *things* that he makes the foundation.

"The best words generally attach themselves to our subject, and show themselves by their own light. . . . They are to be found close to the subject. . . . The best expressions are such as are least far-fetched and have an air of simplicity, appearing to spring from truth itself."[95]

In keeping with this is the caution that sentiments spring from the subjects themselves and cannot be manufactured beforehand, as some seem to think.

(i) But though Quintilian lays particular stress upon the fundamental elements, and upon the simple and practical in oratorical training, it must not be supposed that he was averse to embellishment, as some passages might seem to indicate. Quintilian paid due attention to ornament. Even in the statement of facts, which might seem as prosy as anything, he says:

"I think that the statement of fact requires, as much as any part of the speech, to be adorned with all the attractions and grace of which it is susceptible," and the manner of presentation must vary with the case.[96]

One can easily detect a Quintilian touch in Webster's presentation of a case, by comparing some of the latter's language with some of Quintilian's directions.

5. There is to be a vigorous preparation for the Forum. Quintilian finds the present exercises in the schools tame and weak. He would have his pupil

"aspire to victory in these schools, and learn to strike at the vital parts of his adversary and to protect his own. Let the preceptor exact such manly exercise above all things and bestow the highest commendation on it when it is displayed."

Another criticism of the schools is found in the suggestion that school training, as practiced, is too confining, that there is minute and careful training, but that it tends to fix in certain lines that affect one badly when the actual test comes.[97]

A similar thought is enforced in several passages in which he contends that formal training is not the sum of preparation for the orator, that training must be real and vital, brought into close touch with life. One must try the Forum, even while a pupil. Writing is the "great modeler of excellence" in the orator, but another step is necessary to reach the end. Power to speak crowns the efforts of a teacher.[98]

[94] VIII, Introd., 20.
[95] VIII, Introd., 21–23.
[96] IV, 2: 116.
[97] II, 10; V, 12: 22.
[98] X, 1: 3.

It was customary for pupils to learn by heart what they had composed and repeat it on a certain day. Quintilian disapproves of this, for "proficiency depends chiefly on the diligent cultivation of style." In committing and declamation he recommends "select passages from orations and histories, or any other sort of writing deserving of attention." This provides for memory work, supplies models of the best compositions that will work silently in forming style, and gives command of a fine vocabulary (a three-fold one, consisting of words, phrases, figures) that will offer itself spontaneously in future work.[99] But he also provides for declaiming one's own compositions occasionally, and so shows his good pedagogy by appealing to adolescent qualities.[1]

Declamation is "the most recently invented of all exercises and by far the most useful. For it comprehends within itself all those exercises of which I have been treating and presents us with a very close resemblance to reality."

But he tells us that the exercise has degenerated and so has been one of the chief agencies that have corrupted eloquence. He would bring it back to its possibilities.[2]

Some principles of method for the final stage of training.— The boy now "knows how to invent and arrange his matter" and "has also acquired the art of selecting and disposing his words." Quintilian would next instruct him "by what means he may be able to practice in the best and easiest possible manner that which he has learned."[3] Here begins the final instalment of his training in the art of oratory. This may perhaps be regarded as the post-secondary part of his School of Rhetoric. Once again following his spiral system he recurs to his three-fold division of work and brings the spiral one turn further up. Here are some of his points: —

(a) Constant reading of standard literature for a more critical study of models, in order to develop expression and style.

"For a long time none but the best authors must be read and such as are least likely to mislead him who trusts them, and they must be read. . . almost with as much care as if we were transcribing them."[4]

"While we receive all language first of all by the ear,"[5] he thinks there is special value in reading and digesting carefully, as it gives a more deliberative mastery of language. This critical study of literature is to give, first, words,[6]— not merely vocabulary, but facility in adapting words to situations,— then expression and style. He lays special stress on argumentative style, but not narrowly, as seen by the wide range of his literature course.

[99] II, 7: 4.
[1] II, 7: 5.
[2] II, 10.
[3] X, 1: 4.
[4] X, 1: 20.
[5] X, 1: 10.
[6] X, 1: 6 ff.

In this connection comes in again his fundamental psychological principle, imitation, broadly interpreted.

(b) Development of judgment and initiative, which Quintilian presents with striking force. Here we have his final school work for developing individuality.

(c) Constant practice in writing, following a carefully graded course.[7]

(d) As writing is the key to excellence his further pedagogical observations on the subject will be of interest. First then we note some general principles: —

1. "By writing quickly we are not brought to write well. By writing well we are brought to write quickly."[8]

2. "Let our pen be at first slow, provided that it be accurate. Let us search for what is best and not allow ourselves to be readily pleased with whatever presents itself. Let judgment be applied to our thoughts, and skill in arrangement to such of them as the judgment sanctions. . . . The weight of each (word) must be carefully estimated, and then must follow the art of collocation; and the rhythm of our phrases must be tried in every possible way, since any word must not take its position just as it offers itself."[9]

3. Practice and method assist in giving readiness. Method is working according to the nature of the subject, nature of the characters concerned, disposition of the judge, and requirements of the occasion.[10]

4. "I consider that the greatest facility in composition is acquired by exercise in the simplest subjects. . . . But the great proof of power is to expand what is naturally contracted, to amplify what is little, to give variety to things that are similar, and attraction to such as are obvious, and to say with effect much on little."[11]

Quintilian also gives some interesting suggestions as to means, conditions, environment, and mechanics of writing.

1. He suggests practice in translation and similar exercises as definitely helpful for his main object, (a) translation from Greek into Latin for matter and art, in which Greek excels. Such an exercise assures, he believes, better choice of words and secures figures for ornament, "because the Roman tongue differs greatly from that of the Greeks."[12] But Latin excels Greek in certain things, and its real genius is to be brought out. (b) He would have his pupil convert Latin into other words. (c) He recommends turning poetry into prose for ele-

[7] See X, 3: 13. For grading conf. X, 5, where Quintilian gives some very interesting suggestions. Order of development is seen in his statement that power comes first by speaking, next by imitation, and last by "diligent exercise in writing." "But, . . . as our work proceeds, those things that were of the greatest importance begin to appear of the least." X, 1: 3, 4.

[8] X, 3: 10.

[9] X, 3: 5.

[10] X, 3: 15.

[11] X, 5: 10, 11.

[12] X, 5: 2, 3.

vation of style, for training in exactness, through getting at the real prose equivalent, and for general broadening of expression by comparing the two languages and studying expression-rivalry between them.[13] (d) Paraphrasing Latin orations helps in gaining language power, encourages care in study and writing, and stimulates ambition to excel the original.[14] (e) "It will be serviceable also to vary our own (language) in a number of different forms, taking certain thoughts for the purpose and putting them as harmoniously as possible into different shapes."[15]

2. He makes several practical suggestions as to the method of writing.

(a) He would have one be his own amanuensis, because it gives better conditions for thinking with some deliberation. In the case of dictating, with a rapid amanuensis it tends to bring haste and carelessness in composing, while with a slow amanuensis it obstructs the course of thought and dispels its fire. Besides, it destroys the privacy needed for vivid thinking.[16]

(b) He would avoid running through the subject and getting a rough copy and then revising. Better use care at the outset and then polish, he thinks.[17]

(c) For better connection repeat the last words of what has just been written;

"for besides that by this means what follows is better connected with what precedes, the ardor of thought that has cooled by the delay of writing receives its strength anew, and, by going again over the ground, acquires new force."[18]

(d) As to environment, the best condition for writing by day is not retirement amid nature's charms, which are diverting, but Demosthenes' secluded place, "where no voice can be heard and no prospect contemplated";—at night a closed chamber with "the silence of the night . . . and a single light for company." But one must also accustom himself to "set all interruptions at defiance" and must be able to secure a kind of privacy for thought anywhere.[19]

(e) There are certain principles for correction which he likes:—(a) After the writing is done lay away the copy. (b) Do not correct too much. There are some, he says,

"who return to whatever they compose as if they presumed it to be incorrect, and as if nothing can be right that has presented itself first; they think whatever is different from it is better and find something to correct as often as they take up their manuscript, like surgeons who make an incision even in sound places; and hence it happens that their writings are, so to speak, scarred and bloodless and rendered

[13] X, 5:4.
[14] X, 5:5 ff.
[15] X, 5:9.
[16] X, 3:19.
[17] X, 3:17, 18.
[18] X, 3:6.
[19] X, 3:22 ff.

worse by the remedies applied. Let what we write therefore sometimes please, or at least content us, that the file may polish our work and not wear it away to nothing." Again he says, "Nor do I think that those who have acquired some power in the use of the pen should be chained down to the unhappy task of perpetually finding fault with themselves." [20]

(f) Quintilian also brings in some details of an external nature.[21] (a) He advises writing on wax-tablets, for ease in erasing and for quickness (unless eyes require parchment), and he suggests that some leaves be left blank and that some space be left vacant for jotting down odd thoughts that may occur to us on other subjects (which reminds us of De Quincey's method of writing). (b) Again the pupil's tablets should not be too broad, "having found a youth," he says, "otherwise anxious to excel, make his compositions of too great a length, because he used to measure them by the number of lines," and the fault could not be corrected without altering the size of his tablets. The modern teacher often finds length usurping the place of substance.

3. **Speaking. The Forum.**— But writing is not enough. There must be speaking, if the orator is to have the needed practical training. So Quintilian emphasizes a new series of declamations "made similar to actual pleadings." [22] The student must come to real life; reality tells. In addition to what he has already provided in declamations the young aspirant is to choose an orator and attend on him carefully. He is to be present at as many trials as possible. He is to set down real cases in writing and to handle both sides of the question.

"The young man will thus be sooner qualified for the Forum whom his master has obliged to approach in his declamation as nearly as possible to reality and to range through all sorts of cases." [23]

4. The pupil is now well on the way to extempore speaking, which represents the highest degree of oratorical power. But there is an intermediate step between his present status and that. "Next to writing is meditation," *i.e.*, thinking a matter out instead of writing it, to be followed by speaking. But much practice in writing gives "a certain *form* of thinking . . . that may be continually attendant on our meditations." A *habit* of thinking must be gradually gained by a method like that noted in his treatment of memory. The student is to gain such latitude in meditated speaking that he will not be chained to a fixed scheme, but will be able to incorporate a "happy conception of the moment" without confusing his plans.[24]

Extempore speaking is the final field of effort for the orator, who must have power to meet sudden calls where preparation is impossible. Quintilian continues his description of the course of training for this final end with the same masterly detail found throughout his work. We may sum it up by saying that by study, art, and practice

[20] X, 3:10; X, 4:3.
[21] X, 3:31–3.
[22] X, 5:14.
[23] X, 5:19 ff.
[24] X, 6.

a kind of intuitive method in speaking is developed to relieve the mind of pressure and allow it to expend its force constructively so that,

"while we are uttering what is immediately present to our thoughts, we may be arranging what is to follow, . . . and our prospect may advance no less than our step,"—a power "such as that by which the hand runs on in writing and by which the eye in reading sees several lines with their turns and transitions at once, and perceives what follows before the voice has uttered what precedes." [25]

But notwithstanding his regard for extempore speaking he remarks significantly that he would never wish, for his own part, to have such confidence in his readiness to speak

"as not to take at least a short time, which may almost always be had, to consider what he is going to say. . . . We must study at all times and in all places; for there is scarcely a single one of our days so occupied that some profitable attention may not be hastily devoted, during at least some portion of it, . . . to writing or reading or speaking." [26]

In connection with speaking Quintilian expresses his "full approbation of short notes and of small memorandum books which may be held in hand." But he disapproves of written summaries as likely to weaken memory power. He forgets nothing.[27]

It will be fitting to close this summary with two very pertinent and admirable suggestions of Quintilian that show the man:—

1. "No portion even of our common conversation should ever be careless. . . . Whatever we say, and wherever we say it, should be as far as possible excellent in its kind."
2. "As to writing, we must certainly never write more than when we have to speak much extempore; for by the use of the pen a weightiness will be preserved in our matter, and that light facility of language, which swims as it were on the surface, will be compressed into a body." [28]

Good advice for modern language teachers.

The two final books, which need not concern us in detail here, give emphasis to "delivery" and the training by which it may be attained, and to the higher studies of the orator,—the professional side of his work,—and his psychological and philosophical studies.—They take up also a discussion of different styles of oratory and a characterization of prominent orators.

Quintilian has given us an enterprising course of training, broad, strong, thorough, and illuminated with a wealth of detail and illustration. His great pedagogical treatise has left its impress on all succeeding centuries.

Brief outlines and a table of comparisons follow.

[25] X, 7.
[26] X, 7: 20, 27.
[27] X, 7: 31, 32.
[28] X, 7: 28.

TOPICS AND REFERENCES.— CICERO'S DE ORATORE.

Education as conceived by Cicero. (General treatment—Omits elementary education)

1. Aim: — Complete Orator: — I: 8, 26 f; III: 22.
2. Analysis of Complete Orator.
   (1) Character necessary.— II: 20, 43, 82; III: 14, 18.
   (2) Wise, educated, cultured man. Language power and memory enforced: — I: 2, 5, 6, 8, 11–16, 25, 26, 28, 32, 34, 36; II: 1, 2, 8, 9, 15, 16, 23, 25, 27, 51; III: 13, 14, 19, 20, 25, 31 f., 35, 49 f., 51.
   (3) An appreciation of relations of life and disposition to throw himself into the circumstances and exigencies of life, public, and private: — I: 10, 11; II: 9, 16; III: 17.
   (4) Special and technical qualities of orator needed: — capacity to make word meet time, occasion, person, subject matter. Master in public debate and private conversation — I: 5, 8, 12, 21, 28, 31, 34; II: 25, 27, 31–2, 58 f., 79; III: 11, 12, 14, 45 f., 49 f., 51, 56 f.
   (5) Judgment, self-control, confidence. Dignified, yet approachable; cosmopolitan, yet incisively Roman. Individuality.

   Summary: Liberally trained man and professionally trained man combined, each brought to highest perfection.
3. Relations of orator.
   (1) Personal ascendency: — I: 4, 8, 33; II: 8. Brutus 15, 54.
   (2) Public interests, etc.: — I: 8, 9, 11, 36; II: 9, 16; III: 1–2, 17.
4. Subject matter for training. No systematic treatment. (Grouping of scattered statements.)
   (1) Language,— vocabulary, grammar, rhetoric, composition: — I: 5, 12, 21, 31, 32, 33, 34; II: 23, (38); III: 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19, 25 f., 44 f., 49, 51. All linguistic elements.
   (2) Literature (formal value; culture value): — I: 5, 28, 34; III: 10, 13.
   (3) Philosophy and practical psychology (emotions): — I: 3, 5, 12 14, 15, 28, 51, 52; II: 81; III: 35.
   (4) Law,— civil and general: — I: 5, 11, 14, 15, 28, 34.
   (5) Music: — II: 8; III: 44 f.
   (6) History: — I: 5, 34; II: 15.
   (7) Mathematics: — I: 14; II: 15.
   (8) Military affairs and politics: — I: 11, 14, 15, 34.
   (9) Delivery (all elements): — I: 5, 28, 31; II: 45; III: 11, 12, 49 f., 56 f.
   (10) Everything within range of human intelligence: — I: 4, 5, 6, 16, 34; II: 1, 2, 15, 16.
5. Pedagogical principles and method: — (General and unscientific.)
   a. General pedagogical principles: —
      (1) Relation of art to power. Helpful, but subordinate to talent: — I: 23, 32; II: 3, 7, 35; Relation of talent, art and diligence. Diligence supreme, II: 35.
      (2) Careful attention to individual: — II: 20; III: 9.
      (3) Inadvisable to separate training in thought power, etc., from training in delivery and rhetoric: — III: 6, 15 ff., 19, 20.

(4) Anti-specialization: — III: 5, 6, 33.
(5) Roman traditions desired: — I: 6.

b. Special principles guiding method: —

(1) Talent (relation to education): — I: 25, 28, 32; II: 7, 35.
(2) Imitation: — II: 21, 22, 23.
(3) Memory training, (memory-storehouse). Practice; mnemonics: — I: 5, 34; II: 86–88.
(4) Relation of literature to education: —
  a. Subject matter for imitation and absorption: — I: 21, 34; III: 10, 19.
  b. Training value (read, turn over, praise, censure, interpret, correct, refute): — I: 34.
(5) Composition (writing most excellent modeller and teacher of oratory): — I: 21, 33, 34; II: 23; III: 44 f., 52.
(6) Value of translation. I: 34.
(7) Generalization needed. "Common places," etc. II: 16, 27, 30, 31, 32, 34, 41; III: 30.
(8) Ability to see and discuss both sides: — I: 34.
(9) Extempore work subordinate to deliberate preparation and dependent on it: — I: 33.
(10) Humor: — II: 54 ff.
(11) Practice, drill,— key to all efficiency: — I: 4, 32, 33, 34; II: 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 35.

All studies taught from practical standpoint.

Summary: — Main principles of method,— talent, imitation, habit, memory, practice; *formal training.*

Agents of Education:

Parents and nurse (correct form of speech). Some training from specialists; some from familiar converse; some from practical observation (Forum). Some from foreign travel and study, if possible.

In his Brutus Cicero shows with enthusiasm his training from the age of 16,— attending the Forum; studying hard (reading, writing, private declamation); pursuing the studies of philosophy and logic; taking rhetorical instruction under Molo, the principles of jurisprudence under Scaevola; trying his abilities by undertaking at an early age the "management of causes, both public and private"; foreign travel with renewed study of philosophy and oratory; contact with and training under the most distinguished orators of Asia. His earnestness in study may be seen from a statement made in the midst of his description of his course of training: —"In the meanwhile I pursued my studies of every kind day and night with unremitting application." Brutus, LXXXIX–XCL.

Here is one of his fundamental principles in work: —

"Since then in speaking three things are requisite in finding argument, genius, method. . . . and diligence, I cannot but assign the chief place to genius, but diligence can raise even genius itself out of dullness. . . . It is capable of effecting almost everything. . . . Art only shows you where to look and where that lies which you want to find; all the rest depends on care, attention, consideration, vigilance, assiduity, industry, all which I include in that one word that I have so often repeated, diligence, a single virtue in which all other virtues are comprehended." De Or., II, 35.

APPENDIX III

Tabular Summary

I. Roman Ideals in Education — Quintilian.

Aim

Perfect Orator,
High Character,
Liberally educated,
Professionally trained,
Working for (state, general public), and himself.
Practical Ideal. (Oratory end in itself)

II. Subject matter — Curriculum.

(*Age Limits Indefinite.*)

Curriculum described in great detail. See preceding appendix.
Ante-school period: —
  Language — 1. Greek. 2. Latin.
  Writing.
  General information.
  Ethics.
Elementary school period: —
  Language — *Writing* — Number (?)
  Composition, elementary.
  General information.
  Ethics.
Grammar school period: —
  Grammatics: —
    1. Art of speaking and writing correctly.
    2. Literature (culture-value; formal value). Many sided study.
    3. Very abstract study of intricacies of grammar.
  Elementary composition.
  Elementary Rhetoric. Elementary Elocution. Music. Arithmetic. Geometry. Astronomy.
  Delivery (elementary).
Higher School:
  Advanced composition (style; elaboration).
  Wide course in literature.
  Philosophy,— physics, ethics, dialectic. Mnemonics. Delivery.
    (All learning)

METHOD

Talent
Individual attention
Interest
Imitation
Habit
Memory,— information storing.
Objective work. Much concreteness.
Rules + practice based on imitation.
Correlation prominent.
Generalization power developed.
Development of initiative.
Most prominent elements of method: —
  Practice and *drill.— Formal Discipline.*
  Exercises for developing initiative.
  Writing,— composition,— the chief instrument of training.
  Discipline
    Mild
    Firm
    Wise
    Teacher + Pupil
  Choice of teachers and attendants made much of. Teacher the best part of method.
  Public Schools preferred.

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